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Second in a series on Britain's economic crisis

Britain: Loser in Two Wars

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> Every year . . . statistics, those merciless modern messengers, have been warning England that she is losing her markets, and that her industrial structure is trembling on its foundations. . . .
>
> Since the war the exports of . . . basic industries, without exception, have suffered serious injury. Cotton, most important of all, has had the total volume of its foreign sales reduced by over one-third, and worse still, this decrease appears to be permanent. If this is so it means that certain important parts of the economic machine have been impaired. Lord Derby was absolutely right when he referred to foreign trade as "the devastated areas of British industry."

THESE words are not taken from a talk by a member of the British Labor government in the difficult spring of 1947, but from Andre Siegfried's *England's Crisis*, published early in 1931. The effort put forth in the first World War and the losses involved in its prosecution had already dislocated and penalized this mature industrial country to an extent which made it easily the biggest loser among the great powers involved.

By 1929 enough time had passed for the assessment of Britain's major losses in comparison with those of other countries. At that time the service of Britain's national debt, much of which was incurred in the course of the war, was consuming almost one-half of the budget funds expended. France was using only a third for that purpose and the German total debt charges, including reparations, were less than a quarter of the budget expenditures. German industrial production had increased 42 per cent in the preceding eight years and French production 27 per cent, but British industrial production had grown only 16 per cent.

It was now nearly three-quarters of a century since the creed of *laissez-faire* and national specialization in international trade had won the great majority of the British people as its devout adherents. Long before 1914 the British economic-financial structure had achieved its delicate balance between huge im-

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ports of food and raw materials on the one hand and the export of finished goods, capital and services on the other. Misfortune or accident for any one of the factors would inevitably dislocate the whole system and harm the income and the standard of living of the British people.

The losses suffered by Britain in World War I and the unforeseen trends of the reconstruction period combined to injure the structure at almost every point. A lively imagination can picture the situation simply by reading in the daily papers of the calamaties which have followed World War II.

The decline of the British export trade, one of the most easily identifiable of the economic diseases, perturbed Britain throughout the period between the two wars. By the latter part of the twenties the trend was clear: the volume of British exports could not be forced above 80 per cent of the pre-war figure; the volume of imports was rising; the proportion of imports which could not be paid for by exports (the adverse balance of trade) was increasing. Through the 1930's exports lagged and the gap widened.

CAUSES

Britain's loss of exports after World War I can be traced to four main causes: the poverty of commerce after 1918, the rise of economic nationalism, the appearance of major competitors and the deficiencies of home industry. The first two were unexpected handicaps imposed on Britain by the war itself. The others should have been foreseen and precautions taken.

For several years the volume of world commerce, which had been multiplied by four, remained below the 1913 level. For Britain, which was and is more dependent on international trade than any other country, the resultant losses were critical.

New countries, established as a result of the course of the war, showed a desire to establish and maintain behind protective barriers those industries which had long been suppressed—or so they thought—by the hostile governments under which they had lived. Such countries as Czechoslovakia, for example, insisted on setting up or developing textiles manufactures for their own consumer needs. In most cases the goods could have been bought more cheaply and in better quality from the established industrial countries, but self-sufficiency was in the air.

Tariffs were a natural tool of the patriotic desire to weld natural resources and manufactures into self-sufficient economies. Accordingly, protective devices increased in number and efficacy. After the depression began, the United States led the movement for even higher barriers by passing the Hawley-Smoot tariff act of 1930, and from that time the increase in the number and variety of obstructions to trade was intensified throughout the commercial world.

Important foreign competitors began to undermine the export markets for Great Britain's four great staples, cotton, woolen, coal, and iron and steel and their products. The cotton industry, which was more dependent upon foreign sales than any of the others, found itself

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beset from all sides, from within the Empire as well as without. Within a few years, the number of cotton spindles in Japan, China, India and Brazil rose from 10,000,000 to 18,000,000. India and Japan alone increased the number of their cotton power looms from 120,000 to 200,000. By 1933 the quantity of Japan's cotton exports, which were only about one-fiftieth of Britain's in 1910-1913, had surpassed Britain's. Between 1914 and 1937 India developed her own cotton industry to a point at which domestic needs were nearly met, with the result that imports from Great Britain were cut to a fourth of their 1914 volume.

For the Lancashire cotton mills this competition was catastrophic. Exports of cotton piece goods fell from 6.9 billion square yards in 1912 to less than a third of that amount in 1937. By 1938 the export of cotton yarns from Britain was the lowest since the cotton famine of the 1860's and the level of exports of piece goods was that of the 1850's.

Much of this development could have been foreseen. No one understood better than the English manufacturer who knew the history of his own country that cotton manufacture at the cheaper levels is a plant capable of astoundingly rapid growth. But Lancashire had two handicaps: obsolescent plant, machinery and methods, and a conviction that English goods were the best and would, therefore, prevail.

The other staples were also affected by competition. Woolen exports dropped to half their pre-war level, but so much of the product was ordinarily used at home that a considerable market remained. The amount of coal produced and exported was steadily falling, and the industry was honey-combed with industrial unrest. Steel was able to better its pre-war record except in depression years and some of its products flourished, but iron production fell far behind.

What was wrong with British industry? If its faults could be identified, something might be done at home.

ANALYSIS

The British government made every effort to get at the roots of the trouble, for it was soon recognized that this was no transient misfortune. In 1924 the first Labor Prime Minister, J. Ramsay MacDonald, appointed the "Balfour Committee" (the Committee on Industry and Trade, headed by Sir Arthur Balfour) and instructed it in part as follows:

> The first question to which the attention of the committee should be directed is the present position of British overseas trade and the prospect of British participation in the markets of the world being such as to ensure sufficient and continuous employment and a satisfactory standard of living in this country. The examination of tendencies and developments in the markets of the world and also in the chief competing countries will be involved, together with an inquiry into the growth of competition with British goods in these markets, the likelihood of its continuance, and its probable consequences.

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The committee labored from 1924 through 1929, publishing from time to time reports which gave the British government and the public the hard facts of the situation they were up against, particularly with respect to foreign competition and the "thorough process of reconditioning" required by British home industry. No punches were pulled in giving the facts, but the advice given by the committee in its final report in 1929 seems strangely pallid from the viewpoint of 1947. This involved little more than a pious hope for "a great change in the attitude of the average business man towards new ideas, and in particular towards the results of scientific research and of higher education." A minority, however, rebelled against the majority view that nothing fundamental was required and advocated an extension of public control.

Britain's Industrial Future, a report offered to the Liberal Party in 1928 by a committee of inquiry which included the names of David Lloyd George and John Maynard Keynes, saw the problem as one largely beyond Britain's control. With commerce diminished, transport disorganized and economic isolation rampant, the prospect could scarcely be bright. Nevertheless the committee turned its attention homeward and demanded a new outlook by and for British industry. In conclusion it said:

> In many of our leading, old-fashioned industries the organization is too deeply imbedded in nineteenth century grooves. The essential weakness is not national, it does not lie in obsolete plants or in an antiquated layout of coal mines. It is, rather, psychological. It lies in a stubborn adherence to outworn methods, ideas, traditions, resulting in a general organization of industry which fails to pass the test of twentieth century conditions. . . . We must not continue to wait passively for something to happen which shall restore the peculiar balance of our pre-war industrial life. Rather should we extract compensation for the troubles of our export industries by turning our attention to what we have too long neglected—the development of our home resources.

André Siegfried, who was quoted at the beginning of this summary of Britain's misfortunes, could scarcely be a severer critic than the Britons themselves, but when he wrote *England's Crisis* in 1930 his pen was sharper. Admitting that no country had felt the war more directly or more brutally, even though English territory was not violated and no factories were destroyed, he argued that the source of the trouble was old and deep, and that the purely British causes of the depression could be summed up in the single sentence, "English manufacturing costs are among the highest in the world."

Britain's disease, as Siegfried saw it, was a "hardening of the arteries." He singled out for special attacks the "intense budget energy and fiscal patriotism" which forced Britain to pay her creditors in full while France was paying only a fifth; the devotion to free trade in the face of changed world trade; obsolete methods in industry; dependence on the four staple indus-

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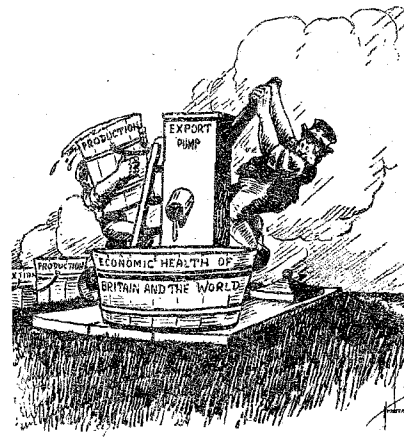
tries of the preceding century; and the demands of a thoroughly spoiled working class for wages and social security payments which the country could not afford. "We do these things better in France," said Siegfried, in effect, at point after point.

Sir Philip Gibbs, replying in April, 1931, admitted many of the facts but found Siegfried incapable of understanding British reasoning. "The intolerable taxation, the dwindling exports, the loss of markets and the pauperization of the unemployed" — all were acknowledged, but the "deliberate choice to suffer hardships rather than play a dirty game" in monetary affairs and the unwillingness to contemplate "lowering the standard of life among its people in order to bring labor conditions down to the level of the overworked and the underpaid peoples of Europe" were defended with passionate conviction.

The impact of the crisis of 1929 changed the British scene and permanently altered the British temper. At first, there was far less shock to the economic system than in the early twenties. Britain, which had failed to climb to any perceptible height while the American speculative boom of 1928 and 1929 was going on, had almost no distance to fall. But, within two years, the first world war, thought to be dead and decently buried, took a hand.

All the western world with capital to spare had turned it in the direction of financing German recovery, a job so thoroughly done that Germany had surpassed Britain on almost all counts by 1929.



Henderson—Providence Journal Bulletin
"WE'LL TAKE A LOT OF PRUNING"

Britain's historical function was to specialize in short-term loans to German merchants and bankers, while American investors showed their preference for long-term securities by buying German bonds in unprecedented amounts. When the house of cards toppled in the spring and summer of 1931, starting with the collapse of a Viennese bank and knocking down German banking houses as it fell, Britain could not recover her Continental losses in time to save her gold supply. On September 20, 1931, she abandoned the gold standard. The proud fiscal policy criticized by Siegfried was no more.

Events followed fast. The Labor government was succeeded by a coalition ("National") government in October. The principle of free trade was abandoned in 1932 when a basic duty of 10 per cent was imposed on imported commodities with the exception of raw materials,

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foodstuffs and certain other goods. Britain followed parts of the empire into the imperial preference plan after the Ottawa conference of 1932. Aid and protection to various branches of agriculture was developed by the government from 1931 onwards, under plans resembling those subsequently used under the A.A.A. in the United States. The state forced reorganization and combination in industry by various devices, one of which was the promised reward of increased tariffs on imported goods. Cotton scrapped half of its spinning mills. The state, local governments and private interest built houses on an unprecedented scale. Unemployment dropped from 22 per cent in 1932 to 11 per cent in 1937.

As a tenet of national policy, *laissez-faire* was gone. It was to take much longer, perhaps two or three generations, to uproot it from the speech and behavior of men. In international commerce, the very area in which theories of individual freedom were first developed, Britain felt no improvement corresponding to the return of prosperity at home. In 1937, when unemployment had been cut by half since 1932 and industrial production had grown by 23 per cent, exports had fallen by 13 per cent.

As soon as the fevered activity of World War II was over, the calamities of 25 years standing returned in intensified form. The war had cut the export trade by half and reduced income from shipping. Old markets failed to recover and trade barriers were more obstructive than before. Worst of all, in World War II Britain lost gold and foreign investments and incurred new debts to the amount of $24,000,000,000 in all. The fear of being unable to pay for necessary imports had become an actuality, and severe strictures on home consumption were kept in force for an undetermined period.

In these years, however, there is no "hardening of the arteries" for foreigners to sneer at. Although old plants still stand and trade unionists can no more forget the black fear of unemployment than the average Englishman can believe that he is not the world's outstanding individualist, there is a new spirit in the land. Americans might call it the willingness to try anything once. British cotton may be dying of pernicious anæmia but strange new British plastic gadgets are filtering into foreign markets, along with odd-looking new cars that cost a small fortune. And all the while the British Labor government is operating a brand of socialism of which Karl Marx or anyone else never dreamed.

The specialized, delicately-balanced Britain of 1913 can never be restored. The two wars have seen to that, or at least have accelerated the overthrow. But it may be possible, through austerity and with the jettisoning of traditional principles and practices, to forge a new economy which, if sterner, is more nearly self-maintaining and hence less subject to adverse winds from abroad.

(The third article will deal with the steps taken by the Labor Government to reorient the economy.)

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Clarification of God

By Robert Francis

NO OTHER freedom that we enjoy is more secure than our freedom to use words loosely or arbitrarily or with private meanings. And no other word is more freely used than the word "God."

Semanticists are constantly reminding us that only words referring to objectively verifiable experience have exact meanings. The word "statue," for instance, gives us no trouble, for statues are objects we can see and touch, and, if we wish to, weigh and measure. Whether or not a particular statue is a work of art or a good work of art is another matter, for that question involves an act of judgment and an abstract word. Yet abstract words, too, can be exact if we take the trouble to define our use of them. When you say "statue," you probably mean practically the same thing that I do by that word. It is a word we can take for granted. But when you say "art," you may mean something appreciably different from what I do. Perhaps you choose to mean something quite different. In any case it is a word to be used with care if normal differences of definition are not to lead to misunderstanding and confusion.

Part of our trouble with the word "God" springs from uncertainty as to whether it is abstract or concrete. Each of us molds "God" to his own meanings. As we mold, we use such abstract words as "art" or "love" or "freedom." Yet the common faith or assumption is that behind ten thousand various concepts—God as personality, or as force, or process, or relation, or abstraction — lies the Thing itself, the Something to which all our divergent and groping concepts point. It is as if our word "statue" referred to one certain statue which was confidently believed to exist but which no two people pictured alike since no one had ever seen it.

When there were many gods, there was more room than there is today for conflicting attributes. Love could be attributed to Venus, omnipotence to Zeus, and necessity to the three Fates. If your neighbor pictured a certain god as kindly and you pictured him as cruel, there was always the convenient possibility that you and he were really talking about different gods. Monotheism has forced a kind of merger: one and the same God must be love, omnipotence and necessity at the same time. It is hard to see how God can be everything that many a believer thinks he is; but to be everything that all believers think he is, is patently impossible.

The word "God" is like an intricate building with many doors of

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widely different styles. Though each believer believes that his door is central, he generally concedes that the other doors belong to the same building. He insists on entering by his own door, but once inside he is confident that all other believers are, if not in the same room, at least under the same roof. But what proof has he that all the doors, including some ancient Byzantine portal on the east and the modernistic entrances on the west, actually belong to the same building?

According to some minds, there are so many doors and of such variety that no man, whatever his belief, need be left out in the cold. Some say, indeed, that no man *can* be left out in the cold. "God" is understood to be the object of one's belief, whatever that belief may be. Even the disbeliever is a believer in reverse, a believer in spite of himself. Didn't Emerson say something of the sort? For some people the problem might be not how to believe in God but how to escape believing, how to disentangle oneself from a word that serves as a catch-all.

> When me they fly, I am the wings;
> I am the doubter and the doubt.

Yet, though countless faiths claim the word "God," this cooperative gesture has not led to cooperation. The fatherhood of God has not brought about the brotherhood of man. Instead of agreeing peaceably to disagree, we disagree (to the point of open warfare) to agree. It might help the cause of peace, and it would certainly help the cause of clarity, if men of all faiths and philosophies made it their first duty to make clear to themselves and others, in as unequivocal language as possible, what they hold to be true.

The point of this essay is that in an age of confusion like ours the need for clarification takes priority over every other need. More than a reconciliation of faiths, more than the establishment of a new faith or the reaffirmation of an old one, we need a clarification of our present situation. Instead of stretching the word "God" to cover more and more debatable ground, we need to restrict it and sharpen its boundaries. Then if we found ourselves outside those boundaries, we might have the self-denying grace to admit it.

As an illustration of what the word "God" is taken to mean by one contemporary thinker, I refer to *A Common Faith* by John Dewey (with whose general point of view in this book I am, incidentally, in complete accord). Rejecting the idea of the supernatural, he says: "It is this active relation between ideal and actual to which I would give the name 'God'."

Perhaps your comment is something like this: "The actual surely exists, and the ideal also surely exists, if only in the human mind. And there must be a relation between the two, a deeply important relation. Of the truth and significance of Dr. Dewey's concept, there can be no question. But why does he call this relationship "God"? Will not this use of the word cause misunderstanding among people to whom "God" means something quite different?

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Mr. Dewey is fully aware of this objection. He explains that he holds to the word to make unmistakable the distinction between his position and that of militant and materialistic atheism. Thus in steering clear of one possible misunderstanding, he risks running into another.

The question seems to me crucial. I believe that Dewey is one of the pioneers along the way that leads from the faith of our fathers to a faith of our own. He gives a clear description of that way, but he links it with a word that is shrouded in mists and overgrown with ambiguities and illogicalities. Though his motives are understandable and ethically above question, I believe that he has made a fundamental tactical mistake.

Another definition of "God," comparable to Dewey's though perhaps more difficult to grasp, is that of the philosopher Whitehead. In *Religion in the Making* he defines "God" as "the actual but non-temporal entity whereby the determination of mere creativity is transmuted into a determinate freedom." I take this to be not a description of one phase of the personality of God, but a complete definition.

Why, you may wonder, are not a hundred similar definitions equally in order? Why should you or I not select some principle or relationship that is both real and important to us, and call that God? Why not say, for instance, that God is the interaction between imagination and selflessness, or that God is the emergence of the living from the non-living, or that God is all that is timeless within the temporal? Men have long been suspected of creating their gods in their own image. Modern philosophers show us an easier and more direct way of creating a divinity.

However mistaken this stretching of an old word, this pouring of new wine into old bottles, it is not hard to see why it is done. If one can say that his religion or philosophy is based on a belief in God, he lessens the likelihood of antagonizing traditional believers, and he keeps his fellowship with the majority of men who are likewise believers. The charge of atheism is still, in some quarters, a weapon with power to wound. Moreover, on whatever terms one subscribes to a belief in God, the subscription entitles one to many privileges. Though one approach God as a metaphysical principle, the very word vibrates with emotional overtones. And something of the security felt by believers in a personal and supernatural God may carry over to a person whose "God" is a philosophic concept. It is as if you or I entered that intricate building by a certain undecorated and inconspicuous door, but once inside had the freedom of spacious halls glowing with murals.

Without "God," a faith lacks focus. There may be plenty of light, but the light is apt to be scattered. If it is difficult to pray to Whitehead's "God," it is not so difficult as it would be to pray to a metaphysical system without the "God." In prayer one can let the metaphysics rest for the moment while the devotional overtones of the word fill the mind. One can reassure oneself that both the supernatural "God" and the metaphysical "God" have this in common: a

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harmonious integration of all human ideals. Those ideals are or should be self-authenticating; but they are most persuasive when parts of a divine pattern.

Thus the plea to abandon an ambiguous and misleading use of the word "God" should be accompanied by a warning of the cost involved. Some spokesmen for humanistic religion have the air of having tossed out the word "God" overnight, as if it had been an encumbrance they were glad to be rid of. They seem to feel that what they have gained in frankness and realism has cost them nothing. I should like to point out the seriousness of the price paid at the same time that I am urging the need for paying it. No attitude today is less fitting than an easy optimism.

Monotheism is the most majestic concept of the human mind, evolved over the centuries in response to man's spiritual needs. It has inspired the greatest art, the deepest wisdom and devotion, and the most powerful social convictions. Even those who regard it as man-created must acknowledge that as poetry it dwarfs any poetry ever put on paper. The metaphor of God the Father has given meaning and sustenance to countless millions of human beings and still does so. Can anyone who has grown up in that faith cut himself off from it without suffering the shock of a surgical operation?

Perhaps the time will come when those who no longer believe in the existence of a supernatural God will no longer feel the need for believing, and so will have no reason for clinging to the name when the substance has disappeared. Not having been brought up to think of the universe as taking a fatherly care of them, they will suffer no disillusion on that score. And some new metaphor, vivid and vital, may possibly be to their religion what "God" has been to the religion of the past.

But that time has not come. Any independent faith that a man can work out for himself today must be partial, tentative and not completely reassuring. It will promise him less than what the great historic religions have promised. It will seem a bare and meager thing, unenriched as yet by poetry and art. It may seem a lonely thing, for multitudes cannot be expected to embrace something that offers them so much less than what they are used to. Anyone with the courage and imagination to break with the past should have enough courage and imagination to see and acknowledge the full extent of what he has done.

Yet though such a faith will lack architectural grandeur, it need not make its followers feel insignificant. For men to face the universe unaided yet with equanimity is no less to their credit than for them to face it as proteges of an all-powerful protective spirit.

Both those who are moving toward such a faith and those who hold to the historic religions can benefit by a stricter use of the word "God." Our freedom to believe what we will, including the freedom not to believe at all, is not helped by an unlimited freedom to define the terms of our belief in any way we please.

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A centralized German government is dangerous

Beware the Ghost of Weimar!

By Carol L. Thompson

AS THE Council of Foreign Ministers wrestled with the German treaty, it became obvious that Germany was caught between Russian and American concepts of government, between Russian and American concepts of democracy, between Communism and capitalism.

Basically, Germany is in this unfortunate position because she has lost the war, and because her wartime opponents are in fundamental ideological conflict. This is not the first time that a government has been imposed upon Germany, nor is it the first time that Communism and capitalism have clashed within the Reich. There can be no doubt that the 1918 revolution was in large part the result of President Wilson's propaganda, as the 1830 and 1848 revolutions were markedly influenced by French ideology. In 1918, the German people were led by Allied promises to believe that Wilson's Fourteen Points would apply to Germany, if only they would rid themselves of the *Kaiser-Reich*. Widespread, though mistaken, belief in Allied magnanimity may indeed have been "the push that sent the ball of revolution rolling." The success of the Russian revolution also fanned rebellion. And to make the parallel bolder, the 1918 overturn witnessed violent conflict between western democratic ideas and the powerful drawing power of the new Russian state.

Once the German revolution of 1918 assumed national proportions, communist influences became obvious. Red flags and red armbands signalled rising violence. All over the country, Workers and Soldiers Councils sprang up, patterned after the Russian Soviets and demanding the dictatorship of the proletariat. While the moderate Social Democrats tried to form a democratic, parliamentary government, the Independent Socialists and the Spartacus League championed a Communist dictatorship. The Majority Socialists were fortunately able to compromise with the Independents on the national level, in the "Council of Peoples Commissioners," and in the Berlin Council. Universal, direct, secret suffrage for all men and women over 20 was announced for the new elections to the Constituent Assembly (on the basis of proportional representation). Despite sporadic violence from Councils all over Germany, the Social Democrats won the day

Yet Communist pressure[1] had a

[1] Aided by Russian comrades, Russian propaganda workers, Russian arms and ammunition.

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serious, lasting effect on the Weimar Republic. Without an armed force of its own choosing, the government was forced to turn to the old-guard army for aid in restoring order. This dependence on the old Prussian military was one major weakness of the republic. Communism, secondly, never lost its strong hold on some sections of the German people: Communist obstructionist tactics plagued the young democracy from the beginning. Because the German Communists looked forward to the great revolution, they almost never supported either the Social Democrats or the Center parties; their support, in 1932-33, might have Germany from Hitler: their conscious opposition to moderate elements boosted Hitler to power.

EMERGENCY POWERS

The Weimar Constitution itself showed clear signs of the basic conflict. The Fifth Chapter of the constitution: "The Economic Life," provided for a nebulous structure of Worker's Councils, headed by a National Economic Council, and for a gradual socialization of the Reich. Even more important, the continuing emergencies facing Germany made it seem imperative to include in the new constitution provisions for emergencey executive government—provisions which were to lead to the constitutional ascension of Adolph Hitler. Because of the disturbed internal conditions in the country, the President of the Republic received two very broad powers. According to Article 25: "The President of the Reich may dissolve the Reichstag, but not more than once for the same cause. The new election takes place not later than the sixtieth day after dissolution." According to Article 48: "The Reich President may, if the public safety and order in the German Reich are considerably disturbed or endangered, take such measures as are necessary to restore public safety and order. If necessary he may intervene with the help of the armed forces. For this purpose he may temporarily suspend, either partially or wholly, the Fundamental Rights established in Articles 114, 115, 117, 118, 123, 124 and 153." The "Rights" mentioned here include freedom of person, freedom of speech and assembly and other basic rights guaranteed the individual in a democracy.

It can be seen at a glance that power to suspend all these guarantees gave the President considerable control over the life and welfare of the citizens. Because the President (and his Chancellor) could dissolve the Reichstag for 60 days, they could govern by executive decree without any interference in the interim (and dissolve the Reichstag again when it reconvened). Although strikes, rioting and other disturbances from the extreme Left (and Right) made some provision for emergency government seem vital to the Constituent Assembly at Weimar, the provisions they made (largely to cope with the Communists), played into the hands of the extreme Right, and eventually led to Hitlerism.

Communist strength in Germany before Hitler was never negligible.

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In November, 1932, the Communists were the third largest group in the *Reichstag*; although they lost seats after the Reichstag fire they were still in third place in the elections of March, 1933 (after Hitler became chancellor). In spite of Nazi hatred of Communism and anti-Russian feeling among the German people, the Communists were strong in the anti-Hitler German under-ground during the war; nor is there any indication that the Communist movement has lost strength since the armistice.

Even without pressure from the United States and Russia, without the four-zonal partition of Germany, without the tension of occupation troops, Germany faces today, as she did in 1918, an internal struggle between party groups. It was a commonplace in the period between the two wars to write of "The Victory of the Democratic Idea over Sovietism." It must now be admitted that the victory was only temporary. The "Democratic Idea" in Germany suffered a blow at Versailles, another when the weakness of moderate Socialism became more pronounced, another with the advent of Hitler and, it must be admitted, an equally serious shock with the American-British occupation. Moderate political parties were practically wiped out during the years of the "Third Reich." Internal Germany democracy today is a weak reed to lean on. Externally, it is opposed by all the power and resources of the Soviet Union (proximity not being the least of these.)

During the conferences in Moscow, Secretary of State Marshall and Foreign Minister Molotov clarified for Germany and for the world the conflict between Russian and American ideology.

DEMOCRATIC CONCEPTS

> "To the American government and citizens," said Marshall, "[democracy] has a basic meaning. We believe that human beings have certain inalienable rights—that is, rights which may not be given or taken away.
>
> "They include the right of every individual to develop his mind and his soul in the way of his own choice, free of fear and coercion—provided only that he does not interfere with the rights of others. To us a society is not democratic if men who respect the rights of their fellowmen are not free to express their own belief and convictions without fear that they may be snatched away from their home or family."

The United States wants to see such a democracy established in Germany. To General Marshall's plea for a free press, Molotov answered that no press should be free to preach Fascism. "Liberty and objectivity of the press—these are fictions. Information is the means of class struggle, not a mirror to reflect events objectively." This statement of the Russian attitude by M. Kuzmichev crystallizes the difference between Russian and American concepts.

Naturally enough, the difference extends to concepts of government forms as well. While the United States (and Great Britain) would like to see Germany set up as a federated republic, the U.S.S.R. is

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pushing for the establishment of a strongly centralized, unitary government. History teaches that centralization of power tends toward larger and larger units of government. It is of course obvious that Germany, broken down into a collection of small sovereign states, would be a political and economic burden on Europe. The German states could neither defend nor support themselves. The French plan advocating partition is, therefore, impracticable. It is nonetheless true that under a unitary government Germany has twice broken the peace of the world. To Americans, this leads to the conclusion that a federal form of government might at least help to solve the problem. From the point of view of democracy (as we understand it) the interests of most minorities may also be better safeguarded under a federal system. At the very least such a system makes it harder to set up a national police force. Russian opposition only draws attention to the importance of the issue: if Germany were to become a totalitarian Communist state, a strong central government would be essential.

The Moscow Conference adjourned without solving the problem; yet several events at this conference bear repetition and analysis. On March 22, Secretary of State Marshall issued a statement "on the form and scope of the provisional political organization of Germany." Molotov countered with a Russian plan, reserving special praise for the Weimar constitution as a model for the new state. Almost immediately, Marshall commented on the similarities between the two plans and on the federal nature of the Weimar constitution.

In truth and in fact, the similarities are far less numerous than the differences; the Weimar constitution set up a unitary rather than a federal form of government. Granting that constitutional forms are not all-important, formal distinctions clarify some basic differences between the Russian and American viewpoints. American history testifies eloquently that centralization of power leads to the aggrandizement of power. The framers of the American Constitution were determined to *limit* the power of the national government; accordingly ultimate power still rests with the states, except where the Constitution specifically grants authority to the federal government.

General Marshall's statement is thus clear and understandable to Americans. Basic to his plan is the provision:

> (B) That the German government be one of *limited powers*[1] and to insure this:
>
> 1. Each state or land shall determine election methods and the control of the electoral processes. (See Articles I, sec. II, par. 1 and II, sec. I, par. 2 of the American Constitution.)
>
> 2. There shall be an independent judiciary which shall have the authority to settle disputes among states and between the states and the central government and to protect the constitutional rights of the individual. (See Article III of the American Constitution.)
>
> 3. In the distribution of functions between the state and the central government, it shall be

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provided that the central government is one of limited and carefully defined powers in matters where nation-wide action is required; *all residual power shall remain in the states*[2]; such powers as police, internal security, culture, education and religious affairs shall not be delegated to the federal government. Authority and means of states to raise appropriate revenues shall not be impaired. . . .

Marshall's original plan provided for "a German federal state composed of not less than 10 nor more than 18 Laender." "All political power [would be] recognized as originating with the people and subject to their control." A constitutional convention would be called, "elected by the people according to the electoral laws adopted by the several Laender."

General Marshall, in other words, proposed to establish a German republic basically similar to the government of the United States, equally democratic but more rigidly federal in form.

MOLOTOV'S PLAN

Foreign Minister Molotov's suggestions, on the other hand, were far more subtle, and when analyzed diverged rather sharply. Like Marshall, Molotov stressed the need for "democratic government":

> "The political system of Germany must have a democratic character and the organs of power must be figured on the basis of democratic elections. . . .
>
> "Germany is restored as a single, peace-loving State, a democratic republic with an all-German Parliament consisting of two chambers and an all-German government, while insuring the constitutional rights of the Lands comprising the German state.

Even the electoral system proposed seems at a glance to resemble Marshall's plan:

> The Parliament and the Landtags of the Lands must be elected on the basis of a universal, equal and direct electoral law, with secret voting and the proportional system.

It must be remembered, however, that the list system of proportional representation, to which Molotov is referring, has always tended to sharpen "splinter parties," weaken parliamentary government and strengthen such radical and well-organized minorities as the Communists.

As Molotov enlarged on his suggestion, differences become more pronounced:

> As a first step toward the formation of a provisional German government, to establish central German administrative departments on finance, industry, transport, communications and foreign trade in accordance with the decisions of the Potsdam conference. . . .
>
> To charge the German government as one of its basic tasks with the eradication of the remnants of German militarism and fascism, through democratization of Germany and realization of measures for the restoration of German economy as well as unconditional fulfillment of the obligations to Allied states.

Marshall specifically removed "internal security" from the realm of the central government; Molo-

1 & 2 Italics mine.

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tov would give it the far greater responsibility for "denazification." Marshall would not let the central government have jurisdiction over culture or education; Molotov would make it supreme in vital economic matters such as "transport and communication."

Molotov was more nearly right (from his point of view) in praising the Weimar constitution, than was Marshall when he termed it "federal" in character. Basically, the Constituent Assembly at Weimar had provided for a strong unitary state. The Reich was empowered to legislate for such broad fields as "public welfare" and "the protection of public order and safety," when it was "necessary to issue uniform rules." Civil law, penal law and judicial procedure came within its competence. In particular, the Weimar Republic had great economic power over laws relating to expropriation, socialization of natural resources and economic undertakings "and also the production, manufacture, distribution and price regulation of economic wares for the benefit of the general economy." The Constitution states plainly that "so long as and insofar as the Reich refrains from exercising the right of legislation, the Land shall retain the right of legislation." "Reich law takes precedence over Lands law." The President of Germany was empowered to use "armed forces" if a Land "fails to fulfill the duties incumbent upon it according to the Constitution or the laws of the Reich."

Plainly, the Weimar republic was not a federal government of "limited powers." The territory of its member states could be invaded by federal armies; states could be dismembered in extreme cases even without their consent. The national government had very broad powers over the economy; the national government, in the last analysis, was its own judge in conflicts between States and the central administration. If it had been possible, the unitarian-minded Socialists and their leader, Professor Hugo Preuss, would have set Germany up as unitary state in 1919. Only pressure from the provinces and from conservative members of the Constituent Assembly forced a hybrid constitution. As the Weimar Republic developed, however, its unitary nature became obvious. Its strong centralization naturally commends itself to the U.S.S.R. today.

In addition, the constitution provided for gradual socialization and nationalization of industry, due very largely to pressure from the radical elements in the socialist parties and from the Communists. This a further recommendation to Russia, which would also like to see a strong Communist economy started in Germany.

Even as the Weimar Constitution was a compromise, so a new constitution for Germany will inevitably reflect the conflicts of interest between East and West. But when the Council of Foreign Ministers meets again in the fall, the United States and Great Britain would do well to hold to their demands for a federal Germany.

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A brief against drastic action

Should We Outlaw the Communist Party?

By Max Knepper

Author, Journalist

BOILED down, the mass of argument of current proposals to outlaw the Communist party in the United States involves two considerations: principle and expediency. Does the dominant, temporary majority in a democracy have the moral right to suppress any fraction of its political opposition? And if it has, can Marxist activities in the United States be effectively controlled by the simple method of making its political expression illegal?

It is unfortunate that some irresponsible organs of the press, in conjunction with certain demagogues in and out of Congress have so whipped up fear and hatred of Soviet Russia that many normally cautious Americans are almost ready to scrap some of our most cherished constitutional liberties in order to get back at the Communists. It is an unhappy situation because so much more than the rights of the relatively few acknowledged Communists are at stake. The fact that Congress is seriously proposing such legislation advertises to the world that we are no longer so sure of the vitality of democracy and its superiority to other political forms. In order to combat the threat of a totalitarian philosophy, we are asked to buttress democracy by adopting a totalitarian measure.

Perhaps this last statement sins in its simplicity. It is true that some politicians now proposing that the Communist Party be banned from the ballot do so, not because its members are Marxists, but because they consider Communists as agents of a potential war enemy. Sincere leaders of this belief should consider, however, whether better means lie at the government's disposal for suppressing espionage or treason.

Others who advocate outlawing the Communist Party are not so disinterested. They are employing the Communist scare—well or ill grounded as it may be—to alter the free American political system for their own advantage. Such persons are as subversive as those whom they seek to outlaw, and probably much more dangerous, since the already possess considerable power whereas the Communists have comparatively little power.

The power to defend itself is inherent in any state. In the totalitarian nation the government's rights of self-defense are unlimited. Suppression of all opposition parties is usually the first step, followed by curbs on speech, press, assembly. Thought control, enforced by arbitrary police power, is the ultimate refinement in the state's battle against change or overthrow.

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The democratic state also has the right of self-preservation, but its rights are limited both in scope and methods. Assassination of public officials is punished as severely in the United States as in Russia. Acts of violence or civil disobedience are suppressed by force and their perpetrators are punished. In a democratic state, however, change is not prohibited. The organic law prescribes how such changes may occur, and as long as individuals or minorities agitate for modifications within this framework, their position is legal. After all, the Constitution itself may be legally amended out of existence.

Most of us are familiar with these facts, but when we become annoyed with opposition, particularly if we hold public office, we find ourselves castigating opponents and calling for their suppression as enemies of public order, the American System, the Constitution, or all three.

Communists, in their role as a political party, enjoy the privilege of any other party in offering platforms and candidates to the voters, regardless of the fact that their program is offensive to the great majority of Americans who, of course, never vote for it. Theoretically, however, the Communists might convert a majority to their viewpoint, in which case, by all democratic rules, the Communists would be entitled to power. If, to prevent such a contingency, the present government employs the authority of the state to outlaw the Communist Party, it is taking from the American people the right to make a free choice from among the various political philosophies offered in the election market place. Once such a precedent is established, there is nothing to inhibit further suppression, until the party in power remains the only legal party. Let us not forget that many ultra-conservatives made no distinction between the New Deal and Communism, or at least they professed not to. Yet the New Deal was overwhelmingly supported at the polls three times.

It is quite possible that in a showdown between Soviet Russia and the United States many members of the Communist Party—possibly most—would sympathize with Russia and, therefore, may be considered potential traitors. But the open political activity of the Communist party and its declared preference for the Russian social system is not, *per se,* treason.

TREASON

The Founding Fathers, alert to the tendency of entrenched office holders to label their opponents "traitors," defined treason in the Constitution as follows: "Treason against the United States shall consist *only* (my italics) in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

Although the Soviet Union is currently feared or disliked by most Americans, we are not officially at war with that state. In a strict sense, therefore, speeches or articles upholding the Soviets are not treason and cannot be prosecuted. Why, then, outlaw a party for advocating something which is not illegal?

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In this connection, it is pertinent to remind careless politicians and intellectually honest industrialists and publishers that the capitalist system is not recognized by the Constitution as an established, integral part of the political order. Many Americans have been led to believe, however, that the profit system is a part of the basic law of the land. This, of course, is a fallacy. Capitalism can exist in either a democracy or dictatorship, and so can socialism. The confusing of capitalism with democracy may in the future do the latter a great disservice.

American citizens should observe that the British Labor Party, which is a socialist party, did not replace Parliament by a labor dictatorship when it came to power.

This slight excursion into economics serves to remind readers that the economic tenets of the Communist Party, no matter how unpopular, do not constitute a valid reason for outlawing the organization. There is only one point on which proponents of such action have a case. That is the revolutionary feature of the party and its advocacy of a dictatorship of the proletariat. The question might well be asked whether a party with a revolutionary program has a place in a democratic system. The answer, of course, is whether the revolutionary program is *economic* or *political*. If political, then all parties adhering to strictly constitutional changes might justifiably unite in the decision that an organization advocating revolution should not be tolerated as a political party.

If the Communist party is recruiting members for the purpose of overthrowing rather than electing a government, then its leaders should be prosecuted for inciting rebellion. If inadequate legislation exists for such prosecution, then government leaders are justified in asking Congress to outlaw the party.

But the Communists deny violent intentions and profess observance of constitutional methods. While Communist participation in democratic governments abroad has not been reassuring, we cannot definitely declare at this time that the American Communist party is plotting violent overthrow of the democratic system.

However, suppose that principle is sacrificed to expediency, as customary in wartime. Will illegalizing the Communist party serve a practical purpose?

There are approximately 74,000 acknowledged Marxists in the United States including Trotskyites and other heretical Communist sects. Everyone knows, though, that this is only the visible part of the iceberg. If one included all members of "front" organizations, ultra leftwing unions, subscribers to pro-communist publications, and various "protest" groups, the number of "Reds" would run into millions, although such a method of computation is scarcely to be recommended for its accuracy. There is no reliable measure, since most Communists do not register their convictions for obvious reasons. On the basis of local and national elections, one might approximate the number

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at something less than a million. And incidentally, this is one argument for retaining the Communist party on the ballot. It offers a barometer for measuring economic and social discontent.

In the fact that there may be nearly a million Communists of which but 75,000 have registered as such, we have one answer to the feasibility of outlawing the party. Economic repression of Communists has existed for some time. Private employers understandably will not hire persons who are declared enemies of the profit system. Since 1940 the federal government has carefully screened Communists from employment, and many states and political subdivisions have legislation barring them from civil service. Thus in the practical sphere of economics Communism has been outlawed for years, and the result has been the usual reward of repression. Communists have merely concealed their politics, so that only one-tenth or less of their number can be identified by registration. Now legislation is proposed to submerge the other tenth! But surely nobody is naive enough to believe that such legislation will force Communists to abandon their creed. If a simple statute is enacted prohibiting the existence of the party, what is to prevent its members from evading the law simply by changing their title? A rose by any other name—!

To be effective, a law suppressing Communism would have to be exceedingly general. Unless sponsors of this legislation are only indulging in a little worthless demagogy, or perhaps needling Soviet Russia, they will have to put teeth in their measure by prohibiting, not simply membership in the Communist party, but in any group which advocates replacement or modification of the existing social system. Thought and attitude tests will have to be provided. The police power will have to be expanded tremendously, and, concomitantly, civil liberties restricted.

Naturally all this has extremely forbidding implications. If it becomes illegal to criticize features of the economic system, which parties and which political philosophies will remain within the law? The answer to this question is definitely beyond the $64 class.

The objective spectator is led to wonder whether some forces in the nation are less interested in outlawing the Communist party as an end than as a means for getting at non-communist, leftwing organizations, particularly unions. Once the Communist party is outlawed, the pattern for legal harassment of union leaders, progressive politicians, and just ordinary critics of current abuses is clear. Investigations, indictments, detainments, and prosecutions would be the order of the day. Since in times of depression, strikes and elections, charges of "Red" are hurled with more liberality than accuracy, repressive legislation would invite wide abuse. Even though the courts, which generally show an appreciation for civil rights, might freely dismiss charges, unscrupulous prosecutors could all but crush unions by accusing their leaders of Communism.

As for the Communists them-

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selves, they would thrive under the impetus of martyrdom. At present they have no moral justification for their charge that democratic capitalism is a fraud. They have enjoyed for years the legal right to present their platform and candidates to the American people. But if this right is withdrawn, it will vindicate their argument that capitalist democracy, as soon as it feels itself challenged, throws off its mask and reveals its dictatorial might.

Those who sincerely believe that Communism is a real and present menace to American democracy will raise the question whether our state is to remain defenseless against a group which, if it came to power, would destroy the civil rights of liberals and conservatives alike.

The answer is that the democratic state is not defenseless against conspiracy to overthrow it from within or without. Its first defense is its superior attraction as the guarantor of liberty. The people must be made aware that democracy offers invaluable rights to be cherished regardless of the economic system in vogue, and that it need not be dismantled in order to reform the present social system.

Secondly, a democratic government has a moral right, as well as the legal right, to enact stringent laws for punishment of treasonable or rebellious acts. The United States already has statutes severely punishing treason, sabotage, and rebellion. If necessary, these laws should be supplemented to control intercourse with foreign agents or governments. Giving of information vital to the defense or welfare of the United States to foreign countries is already a crime. If additional F.B.I. and intelligence officers are required to enforce this legislation, they should immediately be provided.

If the Communist party, defeated at the polls, should attempt to seize the government by armed force, each and every member participating in such action should be (and probably would be) punished. After all, it is not in its role as a constitutional political party that the Communist party is objectionable, but in its alleged role of a conspiratorial organization carrying out the mandates of a foreign government. These activities would be only enhanced and morally justified by denying the Communist party the same privileges enjoyed by others.

American democracy is not so degenerate that it must prop itself up by totalitarian devices. Its situation is not so precarious that it must deny its opponents a hearing. But neither does it have to allow an undemocratic minority to hack away at its foundations. By reasonable laws, equally applicable to all groups, it can control the behavior of all citizens to insure that exercise of civil rights is not translated into destructive acts.

Visitor: "How did your horse happen to win the race?"
Jockey: "Well, I just kept whispering in his ear, 'Roses are red, violets are blue—horses that lose are made into glue'."

—*Sunshine*

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Union leaders prepare for the future

Education for Labor Leaders

By Mark Starr

Educational Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

MANY years ago a cartoon pictured a mass of people rushing down the road. A flustered individual was endeavoring to catch up to them. When queried about his haste, he said: "I must catch up to that bunch; I am their leader."

However, leaders cannot afford to exercise their functions from the rear although in any democratic society leaders will be anxious to find out what their membership is thinking and to receive suggestions from them. David Dubinsky, speaking to the Officers' Qualification Course, advised as follows:

> The successful leader must always have his ear to the ground and endeavor to realize what the workers are thinking and how the mass membership of the union feels about a given situation. On the other hand, while he must study what the masses are saying, he must not be the blind expression of the mass wish. No leader can evade the responsibility of giving advice and of using his influence to guide the membership. He must give this advice and assume his responsibilitiy, even if it is in opposition to the popular view at the given moment.
>
> The union leader must have enough courage to tell his members when they have made mistakes and to acknowledge his own.

The trade union leader must be aware of the dangers which come to the individual wielding power. The individual "drest in a little brief authority" may well mistake his own decisions for the voice of destiny and may arrogate to himself a larger mandate than his members ever conferred upon him. While being aware of the corruption which comes to men in the exercise of power, the union leader cannot escape the responsibility of leadership and of trying to anticipate changes which are going to affect his organization and the community materially.

In addition to these larger considerations, the modern trade union leader must possess a variety of skills which are often overlooked. Nowadays, for example, he must be a public relations expert, well informed on public questions, and able to present the case for his organization before the bar of public opinion. This means an ability to develop good relations with the press and with a large number of community organizations which, unfortunately, in the past were too often ignored by trade unions.

The union leader must never

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forget the needs and desires and the hopes and fears of the "little people" in his organization. This means the competency of a counselor who knows when to listen to the complaint of the individual even if he does not have the immediate remedy at hand. Needless to say, the trade union leader must possess tact and diplomacy to meet certain situations. Even when he has the big stick, it is advantageous to speak softly and hold any available pressure in reserve. Then, too, tact and patience in explaining complicated problems to his members are indispensable. Nothing affords more continual surprise than the way in which workers previously suffering under sweatshop conditions swing over and make extravagant demands. The worker who had to be exhorted to stick up for his rights, in many instances, has soon to receive counsels of moderation. Here the union leader is a practicing psychologist who knows how to change his arguments to meet the changed situation. Most union leaders have the skills of communication as speaker and writer and utilize the competence of others in this field. They must be close emotionally to their members and be able to inspire and educate them. They must win the confidence of their members and the respect of the employers.

There is little doubt that some administrative skills developed by big business, and the aid of technicians in producing the labor press, in carrying on labor research and in developing labor education are increasingly necessary for the effectiveness of the labor movement. The wise union leader will try to attach specialized personnel to his staff and thus will give himself time to look at the larger questions of policy rather than be overloaded with detailed administrative tasks. In the early days, the unions lacked the financial resources to do this, but there are instances in which, even when finances are available, the union leader refuses to devolve minor administrative work upon capable assistants. The problem of retaining controls over general policies in the hands of the membership while administration becomes increasingly carried on by appointed specialists is one that must be solved by the alertness and activity of the members. Like all other institutions, the unions have the difficulty of restricting bureaucracy and maintaining an internal democracy. Will Herberg's pamphlet, "Bureaucracy and Democracy in Labor Unions," has some helpful suggestions.

Such plans as the Officers' Qualification Courses of the ILGWU[1], a variety of in-service training plans by other unions, the Harvard Trade Union Fellowships, the School for

[1] The Officers' Qualification Courses is an experiment which has been carried through since 1935. These were made compulsory by Convention decision in 1937, for elective full-time officers who have not previously held office. These courses were described in the pamphlet "Training for Union Service." To date, 411 members in New York City have completed this work. The Officers' Qualification Courses include the History of the Union (6 periods), the Economics of the Garment Industry (6 periods), Structure and Function of the Union (6 periods), Trade Union Techniques (12 to 15 periods), Parliamentary Law (3 periods). This 33 hours of work is a minimum course and can be extended. The students are given tests, copies of which are to be found in the pamphlet "Training for Union Service." They are expected to make 75 per cent of the possible attendances and to secure a 75 per cent rating in their examinations.

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Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell and other experiments made by some 50 colleges are steps in the right direction. Obviously the community will benefit if opportunities for training are given to the men and women who will administer such important modern organizations as the trade unions.

The union is a social invention deeply rooted in the needs of wage workers. However, it is subject to improvement and growth as are all such social institutions. Much of the union-baiting in Congress, the general ignorance in the community about the welfare role of the unions, and the fear which exists in the public mind about the alleged exercise of union power monopoly would not have grown to such dangerous dimensions if union leaders had been aware of their responsibilities in community relations. The hangover of the Ishmael days of the labor unions made them feel that public opinion was of secondary importance; at least, they acted on that assumption. However, the tremendous growth in the strength of the labor unions during the New Deal decade, 1933 to 1943, made it imperative that the unions should streamline their procedures and make their record available to the general public of the United States.

More important for the membership and for the leaders of the trade unions is a development of a new outlook and a new criterion of labor ethics. In the old days, outside opposition and hostility created an internal solidarity. In many of the left-wing and progressive unions, radical and Socialist influences played an important but impermanent role. The bloody clashes between capital and labor in the United States were not so much the outcome of a class struggle philosophy but the expression of traditional frontier violence and ruthless exploitation unrestrained by the social responsibilities of older countries. The trade unions continued the ideology of Gompers in asking for "more and more," here and now, without considering whether there was any end to that process. The American Federation of Labor developed the claim that wages should be related to the productivity of American industry and that the worker's standard of life should increase commensurately with the advances in productivity. However, there are obvious limits to this. There is no uniform advance in the various industries. Some industries will tend to decay while others will develop much more quickly.

The crisis of 1929 showed that the productive system of the United States was not likely to progress in escalator fashion without some serious disturbances. Despite the prevailing philosophy of rugged individualism, the power of the state was used to lessen the mass unemployment and suffering created by the depression years. President Roosevelt was able, because of the crisis, to improvise various forms of remedial government intervention and agencies which, while not removing the depression, at least lessened its evil results.

Then the war came and swept to one side all the ordinary rules

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and regulations of capitalist production. However, as Fritz Sternberg has well shown, the war merely accelerated the contradictions and difficulties of our present social order. Big business became bigger business. Power was concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. Taxation became greater owing to the war debt. Backward parts of the world were industrialized in rapid fashion. Productivity was immensely accelerated by the use of new machines, new materials and new methods.

An undiscriminating faith in the system of free enterprise, with no recognition that *public* enterprise as well as *private* enterprise should have a place in such a system, is hardly enough mental equipment for union leadership in the years that now face us. Red and black totalitarianism can be overcome only by the power of a superior idea. If the crisis is not prepared for, mass unemployment will indeed create a receptive soil for Communist and fascist propaganda.

The labor movement needs to do some hard thinking to produce a new philosophy and outlook about the future development of industry and about its own changed role therein. Even if the wiser heads of management agree to play ball and cooperate with the unions, that is not a final solution to the problem. In certain matters, such as the production of atomic energy, the T.W.A. pattern will be followed. Corporations, publicly owned and operated, will be multiplied. New incentives to action will be worked out which will place less emphasis on individual gain and more on group well-being.

Both the membership and the leaders of the unions can work out a new and positive faith if they understand clearly what their role is likely to be. Trade unionists in the United States willy-nilly will have to face these changes. It is the genius of leadership to anticipate and prepare for changes before they arrive.

The Speaker of the House of Commons refused to heed members' pleas to permit discussion of the case of five Gold Coast Negroes convicted of a ritual murder. Colonel Clifton Brown, the Speaker, ruled that to debate the case before the judicial process had been carried out or the Royal prerogative of mercy exercised would constitute an interference with the process of justice. As *The Times* pointed out, "the constitutional point is whether the Colonial Secretary is responsible to the House for whatever advice he may give the Crown, represented by the Governor of the Colony, on the exercise of the Royal prerogative of mercy. The Speaker maintained that the Secretary was not responsible in such a case until after the Royal prerogative had been exercised or the judicial process completed without its exercise. Then he must answer to the Commons for the rightness of his advice."

(The judicial process is well on its way to completion—three of the men have already been executed.)

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Expediency governs our growth

The Expansion of the Union

Franklin P. Huddle

ALL things considered, it seems likely that the Eightieth Congress will resume the expansion of the Union interrupted after the admission of Arizona in 1912. President Truman enthusiastically supports the admission of Hawaii. Both major political party platforms in 1944 recognized that both Hawaii and Alaska were entitled to ultimate statehood. Hearings closed March 27 before the House Public Lands Committee with a favorable report on Hawaii's admission as the 49th State. Bills in Congress call for similar recognition of Alaska.

Most accounts of the statehood process stress such traditional yardsticks as numbers of population and preparation for statehood. Too little emphasis has been placed on bald expedience which, in fact, has governed the admission of most States.

There is an illuminating history lesson in a survey of the ways by which 35 States joined the Union. For a nation as preoccupied with forms as is the United States, the admission of new members has been most haphazard. Discussion of the forms—and of the many deviations from them—carries lessons for present application, particularly since only three members of the present Congress, Senator McKellar (D., Tenn.), and Representatives Doughton (D., N. C.) and Sabath (D., Ill.), were in Congress when Arizona entered the Union 35 years ago. That, incidentally, is the longest span of non-admission in the history of the Republic; the next longest was one of 15 years between the admission of Missouri in 1821 and Arkansas in 1836.

Admission of a new state is essentially a simple matter. Congress assures itself that the candidate has a republican form of government and then approves its admission. Any state carved from territory of another state must obtain the permission of the "parent" to be eligible for admission. Nothing further is required under the Constitution. However, in practice, the procedure is more elaborate.

Congress usually insists that a candidate be financially responsible, educationally proficient, adequately populated and favorably inclined to statehood as evidenced by referendum.

The bare-bone mechanics of the statehood process is illustrated by the uncontested admission of six States in 1889-1890 by a Republican-dominated Congress trying (unsuccessfully as it turned out) to consolidate its position after the defeat of President Cleveland in 1888. The process is as follows:

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The territorial peoples petitioned Congress to be admitted as a new State, after a referendum; Congress then enacted an enabling statute authorizing voters of the territories to convene constitutional conventions. State constitutions were then ratified by popular vote and submitted to Congress. Both houses of Congress approved the constitutions by passing joint resolutions conferring statehood upon each territory in turn. The President then proclaimed the new states members of the Union. Of the six states admitted in 1889-1890, Montana, North Dakota, and Washington complied in full with the formula while South Dakota, Wyoming and Idaho wrote their constitutions and applied for admission without first seeking congressional approval.

Earlier in the nineteenth century many deviations from this procedure occurred. Missouri representatives were actually voting in Congress before the State was admitted, presumably through sheer eagerness to participate in national affairs, after the long wrangle that preceded the State's admission.

The entrance of West Virginia seems a clear violation of the Constitution. She was carved from the State of Virginia with only *pro form* "consent" rendered by a group of pro-Northern sympathizers in the affected area. To be sure, Virginia at the time of West Virginia's admission was waging war against the Union and was scarcely in a position to be consulted. Nevertheless, from a legalistic point of view, Virginia was never out of the Union. According to the decision of Chief Justice Chase in the case of *Texas v. White* (1869): "The Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states."

Although most States have served a territorial apprenticeship before admission to the Union on equal terms, this generalization was not observed by Texas, which entered without preliminaries. The "apprenticeship" of California was somewhat unusual in that the territorial population formed their own government (without being "organized" by Congress) and were admitted to statehood under this government.

Most of the other states carved out of the western territories were first organized by Congress. This process was begun when the initial military government was replaced with a system of commissioners, five in all, including a governor, a secretary, and three judges. These officials could apply and enforce any law then in force in any state of the Union. As the territorial population became more numerous, a bicameral government was instituted. Under the original Northwest Ordinance re-enacted by the first Congress, which first outlined this scheme of territorial government, a territory was eligible for statehood as soon as its population numbered 60,000.

Questions as to the number of inhabitants a territory must claim before becoming eligible for statehood have occupied the attention of many different Congresses. Almost invariably, the questions were settled on the basis of expedience. The

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population qualification, always revived when a territory claims admission, has little legal basis. The tradition stems, of course, from the Northwest Ordinance and was revived during the term of President Andrew Johnson. Johnson, refusing admission to the territory of Colorado in his second veto message, interpreted the constitutional requirement that each state have one representative to mean that no state could be admitted until its numerical population entitled it to one representative. However, the population principle was often breached.

The first State to do so was Florida, in 1845, with slightly fewer than the (then) necessary 90,000 inhabitants. A second, more-noticeable breach was that of Nevada, hastily admitted in 1864 to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, although it had a mere 7,000 inhabitants. A Republican Congress in 1872 wrote the Johnson interpretation of the Constitution in law. Yet 18 years later another Republican Congress, moved by expedience, preached the principle to admit Wyoming with 62,555 inhabitants and Idaho with 88,548.

CONGRESSIONAL CONDITIONS

The admissions of Oklahoma and Arizona carry an instructive point for the President and Congress. The absolute power of Congress to refuse a state admission implies the power to oblige a territory to perform any conditions whatsoever (within constitutional limits) to qualify itself for statehood. And the veto power of the President is grafted onto the congressional power.

At the time of its admission, Oklahoma's capital was at Guthrie, and Congress stipulated that the capital must remain there for six years after statehood was conferred, to stop real-estate speculators who were showing a lively interest in land around what is now Oklahoma City. The State was admitted, and the congressional provision promptly ignored. Once a State is admitted on equal terms, Congress is powerless to interfere in its internal affairs.

Similarly with Arizona, whose proposed state constitution proved unsatisfactory to President Taft because it provided for popular recall of judges. Taft vetoed the Arizona bill on the ground that judges should be insulated against political pressure. The Arizona territorial convention was reconvened, rewrote the statute to suit the President, and was admitted. Once in, the Arizona legislators promptly restored popular recall of judges and Taft was powerless.

A number of constitutional lawyers have commented that should Utah restore polygamy, Congress would probably have to resort to the taxing power to inhibit the practice. Only those conditions for statehood can be enforced that involve contractual obligations. Minnesota was admitted on condition that lands belonging to the federal government and lying within the new state should remain tax-free. The stipulation was unnecessary, but it was an enforceable contract. A requirement that Ohio grant tax exemptions as a condition of admission was validated by the Supreme Court as a legal contract.

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A permissive clause accompanied the admission of Texas. Congress reckoned without the inordinate pride of the Lone Star State when it included in the resolution admitting Texas the permission to divide herself into five States—to strengthen the voting power in Congress of the slave-holding South. The permission has never been seriously considered in Texas.

North and South vied with each other during the first half of the nineteenth century in speeding the readiness of anti- or pro-slave territories for statehood. To reduce the heat of the contest several compromises (Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the California Compromise of 1850) were made which further speeded the admission process, by providing for block entrance of states in approximately equal slave-free ratio. Adoption of the principle of "squatter sovereignty," fathered by Stephen Douglas in the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, turned the slavery issue over to territorial populations for self-determination. The result was to dump a basket of snakes on the various territories. "Bloody Kansas" wrote four separate constitutions and produced much gunfire before a document was finally (1859) ratified. It made Kansas free soil, and the predominantly Southern Senate of the United States blocked Kansas' admission until the outbreak of the Civil War. Nebraska remained a territory until 1876, owing to the wartime interruption in the pace of westward expansion.

The first conflict over statehood was in 1811, over Louisiana. The first three territories (Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1803) had been admitted without incident. Louisiana had been shifted from military rule to a territorial commission on March 26, 1804. She had passed through successive stages of territorial development and petitioned for statehood in early 1811. Although her admission was not a major crisis, the controversy raised for the first time the issues that were later to bring about the Civil War.

On the surface, the issue of Louisiana's admission was political. The Democratic-Republican Party was still strongly entrenched in Congress and the Federalist-Whig opposition feared that addition of another Southern (and presumably D-R) state would remove them still further from control. In the background, lay the slavery issue which led some Northern members of the dominant party to join with the Whig opposition.

The opposition took their stand on two assertions: constitutionality and expedience. The territory had not been in the possession of any of the states at the time the Constitution was ratified—ran the argument—and, therefore, to admit Louisiana to equal partnership with states that had participated in creating this instrument would violate the Constitution itself.

The claim of inexpedience was the obvious one that admission of a new State would reduce voting power and privileges of individual members of Congress, would dissipate the advantages of constitutional government, would weaken the independence of present members.

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Josiah Quincy, Representative from Massachusetts and a member of the Jeffersonian Party, declared in a rather remarkable speech in the House that to admit Louisiana would mean the dissolution of the Union. His speech carried some shrewd bits of prophecy. Quincy said grimly that the states of the North would be obliged to break relations under the Constitution—"Forcibly if they must!" The House responded by admitting Louisiana, with 77 members in favor to 36 opposed. Of the negative votes, 20 were cast by Representatives from New England. The question of constitutionality was subsequently decided by the Supreme Court (in favor of the action, of course) under the doctrine of implied powers.

In each case—Louisiana, the Slave-Free statehood race, West Virginia, Nevada, the Westward Course of Empire—the prime consideration was not population, literacy, nor ratio of English-speaking people to the total population. Quincy set the right tone when he asked: "Is it expedient?" Thus, on the grounds of political and national interest, is it expedient that Hawaii, or Alaska, be admitted to the Union?

Hawaii's very slightly pro-Republican leanings suggest that the present congressional majority might gain by acceding to President Truman's request that Hawaii be admitted. Alaska, on the other hand, is very slightly Democratic. Simultaneous admission of the two territories would ultimately strengthen the House Republican delegation, but would probably not affect the Senate. On this basis, then, a "gentlemen's agreement" might be expected, by which Hawaii was admitted this year, with the understanding that Alaska would come in in 1948, after members of the Public Lands Committees had indulged themselves in a pleasant junket to the northern territory this summer, to see if it is ready for statehood.

Is it expedient on grounds of national interest that Hawaii and Alaska be made States? Hawaii's claim is based not only on her good record during World War II, but also on the fact that one of the world's great naval bases, Pearl Harbor, is located close to her capital at Honolulu. Also, Hawaii is an important strategic outpost among American defenses. Alaska's claim is that her territory is most exposed to actual invasion, and that it, therefore, deserves the benefits of statehood to encourage more rapid economic development. In both cases, the claim is good. For it is undeniable that there is a general tightening of defenses now underway by this country. If Hawaii and Alaska stand to benefit, so much the better.

The vanishing frontier—John Edward Dalton is president of an Arizona group organized to oppose the encroachment of fox-hunting "dudes." "I sure never thought anyone would get himself all rigged up in fancy pink clothes and go chasing a little fox around this Arizona country."

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Do you believe that two terms are enough for any President?

How Long Should a President Serve?

EDWARD J. Flynn, former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee and Democratic "boss" of the Bronx, recently wrote an article on "Bosses and Machines" for *The Atlantic Monthly*. The gist of the article is that both the Republicans and the Democrats have party organizations in the country and that the leader in each case is a boss.

Some bosses are better than others. Some bosses are more efficient than others. But, by the nature of our electoral system, we have parties and parties have bosses.

Flynn suggests that the citizen interested in better government should attempt to take over the party organization rather than try to start a new party. He bares the strength of the organization in its control of jobs—in its ability to do something for its members in a practical way.

This strength of the organization grows by long-continued control of the elective offices in the National Capital as much as in the Bronx, or any other local division. It may be true that when one organization is deposed its successor promptly tries to entrench itself in its place. In its turn, it always has been and always should be turned out.

Limitations of the tenure of office anywhere would seem to make this process easier. Recognizing this, some cities and some states provide that their mayors or governors cannot succeed themselves. No such provision is made so far as the President of the United States is concerned.

George Washington, however, served two terms and refused to run for a third. This precedent was considered binding since it had been followed by Jefferson, Madison and Monroe as a conscious policy consistent with their political theories.

They were opposed to strengthening the federal government. They did not foresee an age of political bosses and dictators but they feared that a strong federal government would fall into the hands of a strong man who would turn the Republic into a monarchy.

Nonetheless, many early Republicans (Democrats today) and Federalists conceded that in time of grave national danger it might be advantageous to be able to retain a President in office until the danger has been passed.

This, of course, was the reasoning of President Roosevelt and the men who urged him to run for a third and then a fourth term. On the other hand, there were early Republicans (Democrats), including, apparently, Thomas Jefferson, who believed that the danger of an extended term in the Presidency offset the advantages it offered.

In the elections of 1940 and

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1944, the men who maintained that no man is indispensable were following Jefferson's line of reasoning. In the excerpts from the congressional debate which follow[1] we have selected material from speeches dealing with the problem in both its historical and its present-day aspects. Some senators are obviously affected either by their admiration or by their dislike for Franklin Roosevelt but, on the whole, the debate is largely on the merits of limiting the tenure of any President, in almost the same terms as it has been debated time and again since we have had presidents.

On March 21, the House of Representatives accepted Senate changes in the proposed constitutional amendment limiting future Presidents to two elected terms. This action puts the amendment before the states for ratification. Approval by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states within seven years would make this the Twenty-Second amendment. The President's signature is not required.

LIMITATION OF PRESIDENTIAL TENURE

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 27), proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to the terms of office of the President.

Mr. Wiley (R., Wisc.). Mr. President, I respectfully ask that the clerk read the joint resolution to which I am about to address myself.

The *President pro tempore*. Without objection, the clerk will read as requested.

The Chief Clerk read the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 27) as proposed to be amended, as follows:

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), **That the following article is hereby proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution.**

"ARTICLE —

"SECTION 1. A person who has held the office of President, or acted as President in each of two terms shall not be eligible to hold the office of President, or to act as President, for any part of another term; but this article shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President or acting as President during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

"SEC. 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within 7 years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress."

Mr. Wiley. I should like to present the various reasons as I see them for enactment of the pending joint resolution; but before I do so, I should like to make this point:

This resolution should be considered apart from discussion of the personality of the late President Roosevelt. It is not intended as a criticism of him, and prejudices for or against him should not be con-

[1] *Congressional Record*, Vol. 93, Nos. 42,

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sidered. We should be taking this step in terms of what the American people need in the future and should not be misled by bitter feelings of one kind or another of the past.

What are the reasons for this resolution? It might be noted at the outset that it has already been approved, in substance, on February 6 by a vote of 285 to 121 in the House of Representatives, including the favorable votes of 238 Republicans and 47 Democrats—22 per cent of the total Democratic votes cast.

First. The resolution merely puts into writing in the Constitution a custom which the American people have observed throughout their history prior to President's Roosevelt's tenure. This custom originated with the unforgettable Farewell Address of our first President, George Washington, on September 19, 1796, in which he stated his refusal to be a candidate for a third term.

DANGER OF DICTATORSHIP

Second. Too-long occupancy of the Presidential office and too-long continuance of the same administration always make for danger of dictatorship. Power corrupts even when it is in the hands of angels. I quote the words in 1932 of the late President Roosevelt himself, who, in turn, quoted President Calvin Coolidge, as follows:

> For one reason or another, even a wisely led political party, given a long enough tenure of office, finally fails to express any longer the will of the people; and when it does so fail to express the will of the people, it ceases to be an effective instrument of government. It is far better for such a political party—and certainly better for the state—that it should be relegated to the role of the critic, and that the opposing political party should assume the reins of government. This condition appears to have arrived in America.

That is the statement of President Coolidge as quoted by President Roosevelt. Then Mr. Roosevelt went on to say:

> That, my friends, is the sober conclusion of a cautious public man, not long ago President of the United States—Calvin Coolidge. With every word of it I heartily agree.

Third. If we do not enact this resolution, there will be constant temptation to Presidential incumbents to attempt to achieve a third and a fourth term.

Fourth. When any man occupies the Presidential office, there is always a certain reluctance in his party not to nominate him for another term. It is the President, of course, who is the head of his party, and who, through disposition of a large number of jobs, can win the allegiance of many members of the party. Thus, he has an inside track on nomination for a third and fourth term.

Fifth. It has been argued that the people's hands should not be tied so that, in case of an emergency, a President can be reelected to office. This argument ignores the fact that a President can create an emergency and thus create reasons for his continuance in office.

We have found, too, that no civilian and no military man is indispensable in any emergency. Throughout the Second World War, we saw countless instances of commanders replaced without any adverse effect to the outcome of battles in any particular area.

Sixth. When we guarantee that no individual will occupy the Presidential office for more than two terms, we serve to encourage political leadership in other individuals. We assure a constant replacement of new blood into important positions in political parties. Every President always has with him a certain group of followers who tend

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to become smug and complacent in their positions when they, like the Chief Executive, occupy those positions too long. They tend to promote only their own cohorts and to freeze other leadership talent out.

Through this resolution, we will be helping to assure a full supply of constantly new talent for leadership of the Nation.

I believe that the Senate should, with promptness and thoroughness, enact this limitation of Presidential tenure. In so doing, I believe that it will be expressing the will of the American people as indicated at the last election and it will be fulfilling the mandate given to the majority party. It will also be fulfilling the express intent of some of the great democratic leaders, as expressed in the past on the floor of the Senate.

I recommend the adoption of the Senate version of the resolution. Whatever differences of opinion may then exist can be ironed out in conference.

TWO-TERM TRADITION

We will recall that when Mr. Roosevelt broke the long-term tradition by accepting the third-term nomination on July 19, 1940, he announced that he did so, "thinking solely of the national good," and because "it was my clear duty, with the aid of Congress, to preserve our neutrality." He said further, "No call of party alone would prevail upon me to accept reelection."

The debate over his action reflected debate which had raged a century and a half before at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. There were few subjects in the Convention that caused more controversy than the tenure and reeligibility for Presidential office.

Now, through this proposed twenty-second amendment to the of the Constitution the power of

controversy. That issue is whether or not the principle of long-time continuance in office by so-called indispensable leaders—called by some the *fuehrer-prinzip*—is compatible with our Republican form of government. Jefferson, when he refused a third term, sensed the danger when he said:

> No pretext should ever be permitted to dispense with it (he was referring to the principles of rotation in the Executive) because there will never be a time when real difficulties will not exist and furnish a plausible pretext for dispensation.

How well Jefferson read the future. In 1940, President Roosevelt's pretext was "clear duty to preserve our neutrality," and in 1944, he justified his fourth-term candidacy as necessary to defeat "those who opposed lend-lease" as un-neutral.

We who contend for a two-term limitation recognize that it is necessary for the safety of the Republic. It is true that under the Senate resolution, one might hold office two terms and up to 364 days additional, or if he held office over 365 days he could only hold it for another term.

I repeat that I believe that, if there is any lesson to be learned from the past 20 years, it is that power in the hands of any man or group, if it remains there long enough, has a tendency to become dangerous to the general welfare.

Let us now, however, in unmistakable terms, indicate to one and to all that the American people reject the *fuehrer-prinzip*. I respectfully urge the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Overton (D., La.). Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. Wiley. I yield.

Mr. Overton. I believe there is one point which the Senator failed to note. At the time of the adoption

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that of the Central Government, but in the course of time the power of the Central Government has become stronger than that of the States. The influence of the Chief Executive has grown with the increasing power of the National Government. It is therefore much more urgent now than it was at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, much more urgent now than at the time Washington declined a third term and Jefferson impliedly, at least, spoke against it, that there should be a limitation on the number of terms a President may serve. Otherwise, as the Senator has pointed out, we are likely to drift into an undemocratic form of government. If a President can succeed himself for an indefinite number of terms, the longer he stays in office the better position he is in to succeed himself.

Mr. Wiley. I thank the distinguished Senator. I think he has nailed down the thought I expressed when I stated that in these later days we have seen the development of the *fuehrer-prinzip*, which is an autocratic concept—almost an international disease—which we have witnessed in the past 20 years. I recognize fully the increased necessity for this limitation for the very reason that the distinguished Senator has mentioned.

At this point the subject was dropped; two days later the Senate resumed discussion of the "limited Presidential term."

Mr. Hill (D., Ala.). Mr. President, the pending amendment to the Constitution would place the wisdom of the people in a strait-jacket. It would be a limitation on their right of free election. No matter what the emergency or what the danger, no matter how strongly the people might wish to continue a man in the Presidency, at the end of his second term they would be prohibited from doing so. The proposed amendment to the Constitution would place in the Constitution a rigid prohibition against the right of the people to reelect a man at the end of his second term. There is a vast difference between a rigid prohibition in the Constitution, absolutely denying such a right to the people, and a custom under which the people ordinarily do not exercise the right. I have no disagreement with the custom of ordinarily electing our Presidents for not more than two terms. The custom is well and good in customary times to meet ordinary conditions, but the difficulty about the proposed amendment is that once this rigid prohibition is imposed on the people, they are absolutely bound by it until and unless, at some future date, the Constitution is again amended and the rigid prohibition removed.

Mr. President, during the history of our country approximately 170 joint resolutions have been introduced, either in this body or in the House of Representatives, proposing to limit the term of office of the President. No one of those resolutions has ever been able to command sufficient support on the part of the people of the United States to be passed by the necessary votes in both Houses of Congress. Why should we now, at this late date, after more than 150 years of our history under the Constitution, submit such a rigid prohibition for incorporation into the Constitution?

When we speak of a third term we think of George Washington, our first President, because it is said that he set the custom, that he established the precedent of a President's serving only two terms in office. Washington spoke very directly on the question of the wisdom of plac-

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ing such a limitation on the people and the free election of their President. On April 28, 1788, he wrote a letter to the Marquis de Lafayette in which he spoke of the Constitutional Convention having given most careful consideration to this question, and of having finally come to the conclusion that there should be no limit on the people's right in the matter of the election of their President. Washington closed his letter to the Marquis de Lafayette with these words:

> Under an extended view of this part of the subject I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the service of any man who, in some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

That was George Washington speaking 170 years ago. It illustrates the wisdom of Washington.

Mr. Lucas (D., Ill.). Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. Hill. I yield.

Mr. Lucas. The fact that George Washington refused a third term has been referred to as evidence that Washington was opposed to anyone serving a third term. I think the able Senator will agree with me that that is an inaccurate conclusion.

Mr. Hill. It is a wholly inaccurate conclusion. Not one word, not one expression, is to be found in George Washington's statements or his writings against a President serving more than two terms. On the contrary, there is the express opinion which I have just read to the Senate. Anyone who has studied the history of George Washington should know that the principal reason stated in his Farewell Address for his not even considering a third term was a personal reason. He had been in command of the Continental Army for 7 or 8 years; he had been away from his beloved Mount Vernon; he had served 8 years as President; and the desire closest to his heart was to retire from public service, to be relieved of the burdens and labors of public office, and return to his beautiful acres at Mount Vernon.

Mr. Fulbright (D., Ark.). Inasmuch as the Senator from Alabama has been discussing George Washington's Farewell Address, let me inquire whether he recalls what Washington said in his Farewell Address about the growth of political parties.

Mr. Hill. Of course, at that time there were no political parties, as we know them today. George Washington did not favor political parties; the Senator from Arkansas is correct about that. But, after all, the question we are considering today has nothing whatever to do with political parties.

Mr. Fulbright. George Washington spoke of the growth of political parties as being one of the great dangers to government, and I thought there possibly might be a little partisan politics involved in the joint resolution which is now before the Senate.

Mr. Hill. The Senator is indeed correct about politics in the pending resolution, and I shall refer to it later in my remarks.

Mr. President, we know that none of the founding fathers was more strongly in favor of rotation in office than was Thomas Jefferson. No man feared autocratic power more, or was more conscious than he of the threat of autocratic power. Yet we find the following statement made by Mr. Jefferson in a letter written on January 6, 1805, to his friend, Colonel Taylor, of Virginia:

> There is, however, but one circumstance that could engage my acquiescence in another election; to wit, such a division about a successor as might

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ring in a monarchist. But this circumstance is impossible.

That statement by Thomas Jefferson shows that although he was the strongest advocate of rotation in office, nevertheless he recognized that there might arise a situation involving a danger and an emergency in which he himself would favor a continuation in office of the President.

Mr. President, I believe that Alexander Hamilton is generally credited as being, if not the founding father, certainly the spiritual father of the Republican Party. I wish to call the attention of the Senate, and particularly the attention of my Republican friends on the other side of the aisle, to what Alexander Hamilton had to say on the question of a limitation of the Presidential term. In the Federalist he wrote that the President—

Is to be elected for 4 years, and is to be elegible as often as the people of the United States shall think him worthy of their confidence.

Then he added:

There is no nation which has not, at one period or another, experienced an absolute necessity of the services of particular men, in particular situations, perhaps it would not be too strong to say to the preservation of its political existence. How unwise, therefore, must be every self-denying ordinance, as serves to prohibit a nation from making use of its own citizens, in the manner best suited to its exigencies and circumstances.

Mr. President, in connection with this statement by Alexander Hamilton, it is interesting to think of Winston Churchill and of the conditions which existed in Britain at the time when Mr. Churchill came into office during the past war. It is not necessary for me to attempt to depict those conditions to the Senate. I think most of us have wondered what might have been the fate of Britain but for the courage and leadership of Mr. Churchill in that dreadful hour.

John Quincy Adams spoke on this subject. He saw no reason for a limitation on the tenure of office or the number of terms which a President might serve. Other of the founding fathers — James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris, and Roger Sherman, who likewise were members of the constitutional convention —had strong convictions on the subject; they were opposed to any limitation on the people in their right of free election of their President.

To come to a more recent period, let me refer to a Republican who challenged my admiration more than any Republican of our time, Theodore Roosevelt. Let me read what he said:

If, for instance, a tremendous crisis occurred at the end of the second term of a man like Lincoln, as such a crisis occurred at the end of his first term, it would be a veritable calamity if the American people were forbidden to continue to use the services of the one man who they knew, and did not merely guess, could carry them through the crisis. * * *

While it is well to keep it as a custom, it would be a mark both of weakness and of unwisdom for the American people to embody it into a constitutional provision whch could not do them good and on some given occasion might work real harm.

Mr. President, why put such an amendment as this in the Constitution? Of some 32 different Presidents only one has been elected for more than two terms. Can we not trust the wisdom, the judgment, of the people of the United States? Why put the iron hand of this rigid prohibition on the people of the United States?

The great protagonist and contemporary of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson, spoke on this subject, too. When he was asked about limiting a President to one

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6-year term, with prohibition against reelection, he made the following statement——

Put the customary limitation of two terms into the Constitution, if you do not trust the people to take care of themselves.

That is the whole question here today: If we do not trust the people, if we do not have faith in the people to act with wisdom, to act with sound judgment, to act with intelligence, to do that which is wisest and best, then we are justified in limiting them in their actions by such a constitutional amendment as the one now proposed.

Mr. Baldwin (R., Conn.). I have listened to much of the argument advanced by the learned Senator from Alabama, but on the particular point he is now raising, let me inquire would it not be the people who were deciding for themselves if this joint resolution were passed and the whole question were submitted to conventions in the several States? A great many people think this would be a good constitutional change. Why not let them decide the question for themselves?

Mr. Hill. In theory, it would be the people deciding, perhaps, but we know something about conventions; we know something about how delegates are elected; we know something about what happens in conventions. Why should we submit this question to conventions, when the people themselves, by direct vote, by going to the ballot boxes and themselves voting, could pass on the question? I shall come to that point later.

Mr. Baldwin. In the election of 1940, and again in 1944, did not upward of 20,000,000 people in the United States express the opinion that they thought the President ought not to serve more than two terms? Of course, that was intermingled with the other issues in th campaign, but it is well to use tha as an argument against, as well a an argument for, the Senator's posi tion.

Mr. Hill. The Senator from Con necticut indulges in a violent pre sumption when he says that all th 20,000,000 people voted on the third term issue. For instance, I do no imagine my able and distinguishe friend from Connecticut would hav voted for the Democratic candidate regardless of whether there had bee any question of a third term. I am sure he would not have voted fo the Democratic candidate.

Mr. Baldwin. The Senator says I am indulging in a violent presump tion by suggesting that upward o 20,000,000 people voted against a third or fourth term. I might re mind my good friend that he is also indulging in a more violent pre sumption in intimating that twenty three-million-odd people voted fo it. So it cuts both ways.

Mr. Hill (R., Mass.). Twenty, three-million-odd people exercised their right to continue a man in of fice for a third term.

Mr. Saltonstall. Possibly this is not the appropriate time to ask the question I am about to ask, and if it is not, the Senator, I hope, will tell me so; but he has quoted Wash ington, Hamilton, Wilson, and The odore Roosevelt, all of whom were in positions of authority and re sponsibility many years ago. In the last 30 years many changes have taken place in forms of government throughout the world. We have seen greater concentrations of power, in cluding a much greater concentra tion of power in the Government of the United States. Does not the honorable Senator think that that alters the situation, so that the opin ions of many of those he has cited have become out of date, and does he

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not believe that the question before us today concerns much more the last 30 years than anything that had happened during the previous 200 years?

Mr. Hill. No; I think that the dictatorships of recent years are a reversion to early tyrannies in that power has been taken out of the hands of the people, as the Senator from Massachusetts suggests and put into the hands of the few. The Senator will recall that Woodrow Wilson spoke about fighting World War I to make the world safe for democracy. Unfortunately and tragically most of the democracies that came into being at the end of that war, and that were in existence at that time, have ceased to be.

The power has been taken out of the hands of the people and put into the hands of a few. That is the very reason that I am so strongly opposed to this proposed constitutional amendment. I want the power to remain in the hands of the people. I trust the people. I have faith in them. I do not want to deny them this power.

Mr. Lucas. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. Hill. I yield.

Mr. Lucas. As a thought-provoking answer to the question raised by the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts I should like to remind the Senator that when the founders of the Republic gave birth to the Constitution of the United States they had been living under a king for many long years. Much is said today about dictatorships. We know that kings of that day were just as ruthless, arbitrary, capricious, brutal, and vile as any dictators who have appeared on the scene in later years.

Mr. Hill. We know too that every nation in the world, except our own and tiny Switzerland, was under an absolute king or monarch.

Mr. Lucas. That is correct and notwithstanding that experience of being governed by kings which the founders of the Republic had for many years they set forth, after long and bitter debate, what we find in the Constitution today.

Mr. Saltonstall. May I say in reply to the distinguished Senator from Illinois, that the quotations from the early Presidents and others in authority in our history showed that they wanted no man to remain in office for too long a time.

Mr. Hill. The quotations show that those men wanted the people to retain the power, and the right to use their wisdom and their best judgement in continuing a man in office, in a great crisis or emergency. That is what they show.

Mr. President, it has not been very long since the leonine Senator Borah, of Idaho, sat on this floor. It is interesting to note what Senator Borah had to say. Speaking on this floor not many years ago, he stated:

> **One of the fundamental reasons for opposing the joint resolution—**

That was a resolution, of course, to limit the term, to limit the right of the people to elect their President—

> **One of the fundamental reasons for opposing the joint resolution is that the people who could be trusted to determine whether or not they desire a President for a second term may also be trusted to determine whether or not they desire a President for a third term.**

In other words, Senators in favor of this amendment are saying, "Well, we will let them elect the President the first time; we will let them elect him the second time; but we do not trust them so far as the third time is concerned. We who oppose the amendment have faith in their wisdom, in their judgment, in their

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patriotism, to let them determine whether they think it is to the best interests of our country, and whether they feel that the needs and the conditions of our country demand that a President be retained in office."

Mr. Overton. For many years in the State of Louisiana we have enjoyed—and I use the word "enjoyed" advisedly—a constitutional inhibition against the Governor of the State succeeding himself. He can have one term of 4 years. A similar provision is to be found in the constitutions of other States. Am I to be told that the States which have adopted such a provision have no confidence in themselves? These State constitutions were for the most part adopted by the people. The constitutional amendment under consideration would be submitted for ratification to the people assembled in conventions in the different States. Why cannot the people of the United States say, "We think it is unsafe for a President to have the power to succeed himself for a fourth term"? Why cannot the people say, "In our opinion the President, who may be popular and who may be persuasive, and who may have a greedy grasp for power will, the longer he remains in office, be more able to control the elections, and he will by virtue of his high office be in a position to exercise a potent political influence for his own benefit and his own aggrandizement"?

That, Mr. President, is the attitude of the people of my State. It is not that they do not have any confidence in themselves; but they do not have such a superlative degree of confidence in the elected Chief Executive as to say that he might not use the power of his office for political purposes.

Mr. Hill. Mr. President, my good friend the Senator from Louisiana was in effect propounding a question to me in what he said. Permit me to say that I can see no analogy whatever between the Governor's office and the office of the President of the United States. With all due respect to the Governor and to his office and to its powers and importance, that office, in respect to its importance to the people of the United States, in respect to the problems which may or will confront it, is not in any way whatever comparable to the office of President of the United States.

There has never been any office in all the world's history that has placed so much responsibility upon the shoulders of one man, that has brought so many problems for solution to any one man, that involves so much so far as the fate of his country and of other countries are concerned, as the office of the President of the United States does today.

Mr. Overton. That is the very reason I favor this constitutional amendment. There is vested in the President of the United States not only a greater responsibility than that vested in any governor but there is vested in him an infinitely greater power. When he becomes President of the United States to serve for two terms there is an opportunity for him not only to be elected for a third term by reason of the exercise of the tremendous power which he has, but to make a life termer of himself. That is a danger which we confront. From that we might drift into a dynasty.

Mr. Hill. The Senator has branched off onto the subject of dynasties. I do not want to enter into a discussion of that subject. I want to talk about democracy.

Mr. Stewart (D., Tenn.). I find myself somewhat disturbed as to how to vote on the question; but the chief thing to be decided here

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today, as I see it, is whether or not this question shall be submitted to the people, as, indeed, all resolutions which have for their purpose the amendment of the Constitution must be. But this question would not have arisen, would it, if it had not been for the fact that President Roosevelt was elected for a third and a fourth term.

Mr. Hill. The Senator is exactly correct. In the history of our country there have been approximately 170 such resolutions, none of which was able to muster sufficient strength or support from the people to pass both Houses of Congress.

Mr. Stewart. I remember on one occasion reading a statement by Jefferson, when he was insisting that perhaps there should be a limitation on the number of terms, to the effect that if such a limitation were not adopted in the early history of the country, perhaps it would never be adopted, because he had the feeling that the Government would continue to grow stronger and continue to encroach upon the liberties of the people, and that the liberties of the people would continue to be surrendered to such encroachment.

DEVELOPING DEMOCRACY

Mr. Hill. Instead of encroaching on the liberties of the people, the history of our country shows that the people have obtained more and more rights and greater and greater power. A study of the amendments to the Constitution—and I expect to refer to them shortly in my address—discloses that we have protected the people in their rights, and augmented and extended them.

As I stated a little while ago, so far as the election of President is concerned, instead of carrying out the original intent of having the President elected by the electoral college, almost from the beginning, as a practical matter, the President has been elected by the direct vote of the people.

So far as the President being able to continue himself in office is concerned, he has no power to do so. He cannot do it unless the people, by their suffrage, vote, to continue him in office.

It is most interesting to note in this connection that of the 33 Presidents of the United States, only 8 have served two full consecutive terms. As we know, Grover Cleveland served two terms, but they were not consecutive. But of the 33 Presidents we have had in the United States, only 8 have been able to serve two full consecutive terms; and of the eight only three have served since the War between the States. During that whole period of 85 years since the War Between the States, only three Presidents have been reelected and have served for two consecutive terms.

* * *

As I said earlier in my remarks, all the steps that have been taken in the development of our Government have been in the direction of more democracy, more power in the hands of the people, and a greater exercise of such power. In fact, we know that the Constitution could not be ratified by the people until the first 10 amendments were agreed upon, and those 10 amendments were written into the Constitution in order to absolutely protect and safeguard the people in their great fundamental, individual rights.

Other amendments subsequently were made a part of the Constitution. One is the amendment providing for the direct election of Senators, so that those who sit in this body must hold their commissions directly from the people themselves,

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and the qualifications and fitness of those who hold seats in this body must be passed upon by the people when they go to the ballot boxes in their respective States.

Another amendment to the Constitution is the one providing for women's suffrage. That amendment gives to a great body of our people, the women, the right to vote, the right to take part in elections, the right to have their say as to who shall sit in the Senate, who shall sit in the House of Representatives, who shall represent them, who shall pass their laws for them.

Mr. Baldwin. I should like to make this inquiry: Does not the Constitution of the State of Alabama provide that the Governor of that State can serve for only one term, and cannot succeed himself?

Mr. Hill. The Constitution of Alabama provides that the Governor of Alabama may serve as many terms as he can be elected to but that he may not be his own immediate successor. But let me say to the Senator from Connecticut, as I said a short time ago to the Senator from Louisiana, that I can see no analogy whatever, today, between the office of a governor of a State and the office of the President of the United States. I elucidated a little earlied what I thought about that. I suppose the Senator was called off the floor on some important matter. The duties, responsibilities, and problems and burdens of the President of the United States, his importance to the people of the United States, his importance to the people of all the world, cannot be compared with those of the governor of a State.

Mr. Baldwin. I am under the impression that a good many of the States in recent years have adopted that sort of an amendment to their constitutions. It did not used to be so. I am sorry I did not hear what the learned Senator said as to the reason why the people of Alabama adopted that kind of an amendment.

Mr. Hill. I have no objection to the State provision, just as I said to the Senator I have no objection to the custom, ordinarily, of a man not holding the office of President for more than two terms. The fact is that of a number of Presidents I am very glad indeed they served but one term.

Mr. Baldwin. It seems strange to me that my friend on the other side of the aisle should be quoting as his authority prominent Republicans, and I should be quoting as authority for my side the arguments of prominent Democrats. But there is one more Democrat whose views I should like to get into the record. He, too, I believe, was a man in whom the people had great confidence, and who in turn looked to the people for his guidance and had great faith in their wisdom and judgment. I refer to Grover Cleveland. In a letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency in 1884, he said:

> And of the means to this end not one would, in my judgment, be more effective than an amendment of the Constitution disqualifying the President from reelection.

Of course, Mr. Cleveland served two terms, but they were not consecutive. So he was very consistent in what he himself said and did.

Mr. Hill. Some historians tell us that Mr. Cleveland was not altogether, shall, I say, unhappy over the thought that he might be called, or drafted, for a third term. Certainly he lost no sleep over that report, I will say to the Senator from Connecticut.

Mr. Baldwin. I think that is the point that should be made, that these men, even though they put

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themselves on record as in favor of only one term, or two terms, yet when the time comes and the opportunity to continue themselves in office and in power is presented, they always yield. That is what this amendment to the Constitution would prevent.

Mr. Hill. The record shows that the people, in their wisdom and in the soundness of their judgment, did not under ordinary circumstances give a man a third term. Only one man in the whole history of the United States had a third term. I am not sure whether the Senator was on the floor or not, but I stated that of all the 33 Presidents, only 8 had had *2* full consecutive terms. As I said, only one Republican President has had two full terms in all the 85 years since the War Between the States.

Mr. Baldwin. Of course, on the basis of that argument, I should be against the amendment, with the hope that a Republican might some time have the opportunity. I am willing to prevent it

Mr. Hill. The Senator has many charming characteristics, and certainly one of them is his boundless optimism. [Laughter.] If the Senator is about to leave the floor I hope he will not do so at this time. The Senator knows, as well as I know, that if in 1912 and 1916 and 1932, whenever we had a Presidential election, the Republican Party had nominated a man for a third term, as a good Republican the Senator would have been campaigning to the limit of his ability to elect that Republican for a third term.

Mr. Baldwin. Again I say, that is the very vice of the whole system. That should not be possible.

Mr. Lucas. What is difficult for me to understand, in weighing the arguments of the proponents of the amendment, is this: Everyone knows

Talburt—The Cleveland Press

"LOOK WHAT THEY'RE RATIONING NOW"

that if the amendment is ratified it will be an absolute limitation upon the sovereign rights of the people. I have always understood that ours is a government of the people, and that the people have the right to make a choice of a man for President of the United States, and that it is the only government in the world where the people have such a right. Now a proposal is made to amend the Constitution by inserting a limitation of the kind proposed, taking away that right from the people of the United States. It is in violation of a fundamental principle of human rights. I consider the proposal dangerous to our liberties.

Mr. Lucas. The Senator is absolutely correct, if he will pardon a further interruption—and I shall not concern myself much longer with the question in the Senator's time. It has seemed to me very strange when in the last few years I have heard, times without number, the

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argument made by those on the other side of the aisle that this administration was continuously whittling away the rights of the people, that we were constantly encroaching upon State governments, and upon the individual rights of the citizens of this country, to such a point that unless they removed the Democratic administration from office in Washington there would be a dictatorship. They charged over and over that the administration was gradually taking away the sovereign rights of the people.

Mr. Hill. The Senator is exactly correct in everything he has said, and I want him to take note of the fact that the first piece of legislation the Republican House of Representatives passes is the joint resolution proposing this constitutional amendment.

The first piece of legislation of any consequence that the Republican majority brings before the Senate—is a proposal by way of a constitutional amendment to try to take fundamental rights away from the people.

Mr. O'Conor (D., Md.). . . . While the Senate should not be diverted from a reasoned and sound course of action, merely because the Constitution has endured without such an amendment, this very fact should suggest the advisability of considering the proposal entirely as an abstract one, upon its merits. It would seem preferable to avoid unnecessary references to a single case in which the two-term custom was not followed lest the fundamental question might be lost sight of in the collateral, even perhaps personal, references to the particular case. In this connection I wish to say that I recall that the able Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Wiley] expressed such a sentiment a few days ago, a sentiment in which I heartily concur.

Limiting the consideration to what is best for the Nation, I favor passage of the joint resolution.

UP TO PEOPLE

The primary purpose of this proposal is to allow the people of the Nation to decide for themselves whether they desire to have such a constitutional limitation. It would seem reasonable and proper that a proposal which has been recurring through the decades and has aroused such extended discussion and debate should be presented for decision by the people who are entitled to have the Constitution conform to their wishes.

In seeking now to provide a formal procedure for establishment of constitutional safeguards against long continuance in the Presidency, we are acting in accord with the thinking of the authors of the Constitution; otherwise, why the many safeguards which these men insisted upon? Why the early adoption of checks and balances to offset the accumulation of power in any branch of Government? Why the overriding a veto, of referendum, and repeal? Why the passage by the First Congress of the Bill of Rights? Why the insistence upon power of impeachment, of veto, of State rights?

Mr. President, in my humble opinion, another consideration—and an important one—suggests itself. By that I refer to the need for keeping our governmental processes as close as possible to the people and to guard against any step which might tend to establish autocratic rule in our land. The example of the totalitarian countries is fresh in our minds.

With such doctrines of government abroad, and with the minds of

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many, even in this country, saturated with ideas incompatible with democracy, there is danger, real danger, that in the days ahead some self-seeking leader may gain the Presidency and make use of the powers and privileges of that office to entrench himself therein.

When the time comes that there is no other man available among our 140,000,000 Americans who can adequately provide the required national leadership, no matter what the emergency, then America indeed will be in danger of destruction or dictatorship. Never, since the first volley on Bunker Hill, has America been without the leadership necessary to bring it through any crisis.

The only way to encourage and to guarantee continuance of such leadership is to take action to eliminate influences that would stifle the development of leaders in our political life.

Certainly nothing could act more definitely to halt or impede development of potential leadership in city, State, or Nation than to permit any one man or any one party to persuade the people that he or they alone are competent and therefore must be perpetuated in office.

To conclude, let it be said that, in accordance with American tradition and American doctrine, the citizenry ought to be afforded the opportunity of deciding for themselves whether this limitation is to be imposed and respectfully I urge that they be given such an opportunity.

We have an opportunity on this measure to set up a safeguard that will certainly help to prolong the life of democracy in America.

A talking clock likes good music

The Musical Clocks

By Don Rose

From his column in The Providence Evening Bulletin

IS IT unusual to own a talking clock which likes music? We own two talking clocks, in fact, and one lives in the parlor and the other in the kitchen. The clocks have electrical machinery inside them and never need winding. But they do need muffling. Electricians have looked at the clocks, oiled the locks and poked the clocks with screwdrivers, but they still chatter like ladies at a bridge table.

It was a surprise to discover that the kitchen clock likes music. It does not like modern music. The clock does not care much for Wagner or any of the Russian composers, but is fond of Beethoven and Mendelssohn. Perhaps its favorite piece is the scherzo from the incidental music of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

We discovered the clock's musical tastes one evening when the phonograph was playing Mendelssohn in the living room while I

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was thoughtfully mixing refreshments in the kitchen. The ticking of the clock was keeping perfect time to the music. We changed the record to Brahms and the clock quit keeping time. It chattered incoherently, without rhyme or rhythm. It mumbled and grumbled and stuttered. After some experiments we discovered music more to its liking, the third movement of Beethoven's Emperor concerto, and the clock cheered up and ticked again in time.

Some people would not care to own a talking clock in the kitchen and another in the living room, even though one of them likes music. But others do not care for clocks which make no noise at all. They want a ticking clock, a companionable clock which talks softly to itself through the watches of the night and seems to whisper "All's well" to a wakeful ear. Not long ago the clock in the living room stopped, mainly because the dog had tangled with its electrical connections. I woke a while later, aware that something was wrong. The house was too silent. It was an ominous and smothering silence; the night was a black blanket embroidered with threads of threatening fate. It was a fearful quiet, a though the whole world had die in its sleep. Suddenly I knew wh and felt better. The clock ha stopped. Started again, it chattere cheerfully through the night and al the goblins went away.

Critically considered, the lan guage of these talking clocks is little crude. We are accustome to their noisy voices, but visitor sometimes glance uneasily aroun wondering whether they are lister ing to a chorus of ravenous termite tearing the house down. Or the ask if we keep a concrete mixer i the cellar, or are experimentin with atomic energy in the laundr or workshop.

It would be nicer to own a gran father's clock with a deep bass voic and a polite and ponderous tick. W did once own an old-fashioned ma tel clock, but it had a nervous hab of edging away from the wall b imperceptible degrees and finall fell upon somebody's head an would run no more. So now w get along with electric clocks whic wore out nine years ago but sti keep good time and like to goss over their work. It is pleasant discover that one of them enjo good music.

Many a person makes the mistake of developing his opinions in the darkroom of prejudice.

—*Cincinnati Enquirer*

* * *

Coue complained that his famous formula: "Every day in every way, I'm getting better and better" took too much time to say in America. It was cut down to "Hell, I'm well."

—*Birmingham News*

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Insurance Man

The hands are a bank-teller's; the silver dollar eyes
Look out benignly on a world that dies.
Each day he rotates among polished desks,
Watches the profit figures spawned by risk
Crawl over death and fire
And circle ever higher.
Each night he boards a bus, reads in a paper,
Believes the words, speaks to his wife at supper,
Draws the four wooden walls about his head
And crouched, secure, rolls himself into bed.
There lies, checkbook-contented, business pure,
And does not hear against his skull the fury
Of all the world cries of the uninsured:
The lost of Greece, the treason of Iran,
And Indonesia glutted, Spain gone free;
He does not care, nor know himself a man,
But in his dreams licks the white flesh of power
And fawns upon his own captivity.

Until, the retching of the unknown depth,
The soul beyond his vision, pain and terror,
Hurl up against his house the wrath that slept,
Cracking the skull and shattering the mirror
Wherein his face found certainty approved
Because himself was all he ever loved.

GEORGE ABBE

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FORUM: SHOULD STATI

YES!

By Sol. Katz

THE biggest going business in the world today is the United States of America, and it is, for its size, the most inefficiently conducted business concern in existence. Its entire structure is passé. It needs to be changed to fit the requirements of the era of radio, airplanes and atomic bombs.

The chief cause of this halting inefficiency is the division of the United States into 48 different political segments, each jealously adhering to that silly fetish known as "States Rights." To be sure, in the first century of our national existence, the inhabitant of Maine had a different life and a different set of problems to meet than the Floridian and the Texan. Faster communication, faster transportation, better and quicker inter-communication through the mails and the dissemination of national and world news have levelled sectional differences. Our progress as a nation and our welfare as individuals is hamstrung by our out-dated state structure.

DIVORCE LAWS

No two states have exactly the same laws governing divorce. South Carolina, for instance, grants no divorces In the Children's Court, Chenango County, New York, where the custody of a child was at issue, Judge Barnes stated: "The State of New York might find the Nevada divorce void or valid. The State of Pennsylvania might also find the Nevada divorce void or valid. If the divorce was held valid in New York and void in Pennsylvania, Mrs. X would have no right to live as husband and wife with either of her husbands; while if the findings were reversed, she would have a right to live in New York with her first husband and in Pennsylvania with her second husband; the determining factor being the question of fact as to whether or not the domicile of Mrs. X in Nevada was a bona fide domicile for a period of six weeks. . . ."

For many years, Senator Capper of Kansas has been trying to have a uniform divorce law passed by Congress but to no avail. Why? Because so many Senators are jealously upholding "States' Rights."

Another legal tangle stemming from our confused divorce laws is the vast number of inheritance cases and disputes arising from the uncertain status of heirs of divorced parents. Doubt is thrown upon the rights of heirs, and the way is opened for false, fraudulent and unwarranted claims of all sorts.

One of the most salutary pieces of legislation that has ever been passed

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GOVERNMENTS BE ABOLISHED?

NO!

By P. T. O'Connell

> The first object of a free people is the preservation of their liberty, and liberty is to be preserved only by maintaining constitutional restraints and just divisions of political power. Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretense of a desire to simplify government. The simplest governments are despotisms; but all republics, all governments of law, must impose limitations of authority. . . . This is the very essence of free political institutions.
>
> —*Daniel Webster*

THE great American debate of the "stagecoach days," federalism vs. nationalism, persists—some would say "perversely" in the atomic era. This persistance, in spite of the Civil War, the Square Deal and the New Deal, is not an index fossil of the Stagecoach Age, an interesting if annoying "survival" of our extreme youth. On the contrary, the conflict between "states' rights" and the power of the federal government, between centralization and decentralization, concerns the very foundation stone of the Republic, the principle of federalism.

Unfortunately, the great debate of Hamilton's day has become a brawl. Argument has given place to "name-calling." "States' rights" conjures up the picture of a rotund Southern senator with long hair, wing collar and shoe string tie, pathetically defending the Fair South against the machinations of national government. While we do not deny that "states' rights" has been the weapon of obstruction, privilege, and the worst kind of partisan politics, it does not follow that these "rights" and the governments of the states should, therefore, be abolished. As the late President Roosevelt said, when he was Governor of New York: "The preservation of home rule by the States is not a cry of jealous commonwealths seeking their own aggrandizements. . . . It is a fundamental necessity if we are to remain a truly united nation. . . . To bring about government by oligarchy masquerading as democracy, it is fundamentally essential that practically all authority and control be centralized in our national government. The individual authority of our states must first be destroyed except in mere minor matters of legislation."

My opponent has called "states' rights" a "fetish," i.e., a graven image with mysterious powers which interested parties invoke for their own ends. Like Calvin Coolidge, he believes that "the business of the United States is

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by Congress for the welfare of the people is the Pure Food and Drug Administration. This enforcement agency is charged with a duty to investigate, and prosecute when necessary, all persons who attempt to sell foods and drugs which are impure, unfit for human consumption, or deleterious in any respect, or labeled in any manner to deceive the consumer as to quantity, quality, or in the case of drugs, as to curative claims. It is a perfect working demonstration of what can be accomplished by an over-all law. Do not think that its passage was easy. It was fought for many years by special interests who did not want to forfeit their profits from adulterated foods and harmful drugs. The "States' Rights" Congressmen thundered and rumbled mightily, but, miracle of miracles, the acts were passed.

Many states have failed to pass similar laws for administration within the states. A violator of the pure food and drug laws may operate within his own state, safe from prosecution, just so long as he does not ship his product out of his own state. This could not happen if state lines were abolished and we had one, undivided nation.

The 48 states are, in effect, 48 different governments each with its own governor, legislature and complete set of political functionaries who perform no valuable service for the welfare of the nation as a whole. They are, and will be, jealously maintained until the citizens realize that their government is just a great big business that should be conducted efficiently, scientifically and economically for the welfare of each citizen.

Does anyone, by the widest stretch of the imagination, think that we would have won the war if it had been conducted by the 48 states each one acting individually and howling for "States' Rights"? One horrible example suffices. When it was proposed that the overseas personnel in our armed forces be given the opportunity to vote in the Presidential election, the "States' Rights" screamers fixed it so that most of the boys lost their votes.

Does anyone think that any of the peanut politicians, who fatten at the luscious teats of a state's tax money, would have produced the Atomic Bomb? Would any of them have planned the invasion of Africa? The landing on Normandy? The retaking of the Philippines? We all know those things could not have been done by the separate states. To accomplish these ends, one cohesive, over-all effort was required by our federal government in Washington.

TRANSPORTATION

Let us look at transportation. Eliminating the abnormal conditions under which our railroads operated during the war, most of us will readily admit that we have a very fine and efficiently operated railway system in our United States. It is well standardized. Any piece of railroad equipment can travel over the tracks of any rail lines anywhere in the whole country. Services and fares are quoted at a fixed price, for like things. Control of the railroads rests with the federal government through the Interstate Commerce Commission. No state may interfere with their operation, nor

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modify, change or add to the rules as promulgated by the I.C.C.

Now let us look at another form of transportation—automobiles, busses and over-the-road freight trucks. Here we have no national control. The 48 States make their own rules and no two of them are exactly alike. Legal speeds in one state are illegal in the next one. Freight carrying trucks are subject to dozens of different requirements as to permissible loads and axle-weights. Sizes of trucks come under regulations. Some trucks cannot operate in some states without paying almost prohibitive penalties for licenses to travel over their roads. This can be likened to the tariff barriers set up between nations which we are trying to eliminate at Geneva. These charges add to everyone's cost of living, because much of this money is used for devious purposes which have nothing to do with transportation. If we were just One Big State, such a condition could not exist.

If the general public actually knew the many invaluable services which are performed by different federal bureaus and which can only be efficiently operated by one central control, they would be much more inclined to abolish our divided state set-up. How many persons know what the work of the National Bureau of Standards is? No state operates a bureau of standards; it is a national function. It doesn't interest the local state peanut politicians —fortunately for the National Bureau.

UNEMPLOYMENT SERVICES

Suppose you become one of the jobless. It has been proposed that the payment of unemployment benefits be made a federal function, with uniform rules and payments throughout the nation. But no! The states won't have it. Some states pay maximum benefits of as little as $15 per week for a maximum period of 14 weeks. If you are lucky enough to lose your job in a few other states, you can collect from $20 to $28 for 20 to 26 weeks. Why this discrimination? Local politics.

During the war we had the United States Employment Service. Few people will deny that it functioned efficiently. Now the "State Righters" have succeeded in breaking it up into 51 different fragments, one chunk for each state and one for Alaska, Hawaii and the District of Columbia.

SECTIONALISM

Did you know that Texas grapefruit cannot be shipped into Arizona, Florida or California? Have you noticed the advertising which says "Buy New England"? Every state is now setting up committees and appropriating funds for State Booster purposes. These committees serve no useful purpose, and are just another way for the states to use up the people's money.

In Boston, November 15, 1945, President Truman sent a message to the New England Conference:

"The United States will make greater progress as a nation . . . toward economic health and inter-regional harmony if we decide what each region

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can give to the other regions for the economic benefit and for the good of the whole American community.

"All too often in the past, sectionalism has brought discord and even tragedy into our national life because it was based on a desire to advance the interests of one section by political and economic pressures at the cost of other sections."

In the matter of individual state taxation, no two states are alike. Corporation taxes and requirements are so favorable in Delaware and New Jersey, for example, that incorporated businesses doing the bulk of their business in other states, incorporate in these states at a low tax rate. This means that millions of dollars in taxes are avoided which should be paid to the people.

VOTING

You may think that each citizen of the United States has an equal right of suffrage, irrespective of where his legal residence happens to be. That is far from the actual fact. In some states, a pauper is denied the right to vote; some Southern states require the payment of a poll tax. If you are a qualified voter in one state and, for some compelling reason, you move to Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Rhode Island or South Carolina, you will lose your franchise until you have been a legal resident therein for two years. On the other hand, if you move to Maine, you may vote in three months. Why should an honest American citizen, who has a perfectly valid reason for moving his permanent home from one state to another be compelled to lose even one single vote?

Every concern, business or organization of any sort requires some directing head to lay down its policies, to rule and guide it and to direct it into paths of success. If the business is going to succeed, these rules and regulations sent out by the Boss have got to be followed by the subordinates. If they are not, then either the enterprise is wrecked or the subordinates get fired.

We have a President, who, when stripped of his war emergency powers, has practically no authority to execute plans on his own initiative. He has the power to veto a measure which comes to him from Congress. But that is a negative power and may be nullified if Congress repasses the measure by a sufficiently large vote. His only means of positive action for the initiation of new legislation is by means of suggestion to the Congress directly or through the action of friendly Congressmen who will introduce legislation for him.

This throws the whole method of securing action for any measures the President may favor into the maelstrom of partisan, acrimonious, political debate. There are 96 Senators and 435 members in the House. This group might be compared to a Board of Directors in a large corporation. If anyone knows of any group of directors who continually squabbled and put their own tenure of office and their own personal biases before the interests

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of the corporation and made a success of it, I would like to hear how they did it.

The present form of our government in which we have 48 different states, with their multiplicity of laws and political functionaries and incumbents should be changed and the entire Nation should be one single unit, having one centrally located and co-ordinated government.

REMEDY

The first step would be the elimination of the states as separate political entities. This would automatically remove from office all strictly state functionaries, including senators and representatives. It would leave for local police purposes and local law purposes only counties, towns and cities. These local divisions would have no law making power beyond the minor functions that pertain to operating a local community. All other laws would be federal.

With the end of the separate states, our present form of Congress will cease to exist. I believe the President should be invested with greater powers to initiate positive action. He should have a power somewhere between his specially created War Emergency powers and the normal restrictions which bind him almost to impotence in peace time. He should be able to initiate and promulgate laws and regulations if he thinks it advisable to do so. After all, the President represents a majority of the electorate and should carry weight accordingly. With the ending of the separate states, there will also be an end of that anomaly, the Electoral College. Never again will there be danger that a President may receive a majority of the people's vote and, through the workings of this instrument, actually lose the election in the Electoral College.

Of course, we cannot allocate to one man a vast power of this sort in time of peace, without checks and balances. Our present Congress is much too large, cumbersome and unwieldy. Its rules of procedure are stumbling blocks and afford convenient technical hurdles which are constantly used by the minority to thwart the desires of the majority.

For convenience in designation, I will call the new body which I wish to propose the *National Council*. The Councilmen will be elected by the country at large and will not represent any definite section. One Councilman will be chosen for each one million of population, which on our present estimated population of 140,000,000 would give us a Council of 140. This National Council could initiate legislation in the same manner as our present Congress, and it would also have the power to act as a check and balance on the President. No law which the President would promulgate could be enacted into a law unless it received an approval vote from a majority of the National Council within 30 days from the time the President proposed it. The President would also retain his veto power over measures which come to him for signature from the Council.

Everything should be done to remove from political and group pres-

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sures, our elected officials. To that end I think the Presidential term should be fixed at six years, with no promise for reelection. The Councilmen shall also have a six year term, but one-third of the group shall retire every two years and new members be elected to replace them. The rules of the National Council shall be such that the majority opinion and vote can be speedily enacted and that no such thing as a filibuster will be possible.

Another weakness which now contributes to inefficiency, dishonesty, operation of pressure groups and political chicanery is the fact that our Congressmen are not paid enough. The new Councilmen and the future Presidents and Cabinet Officers shall be compensated with a sufficient income and a lifelong pension for themselves and their dependents so that able persons will be attracted to these offices. They should know that if they achieve election, their future will be adequately provided for. They will be in office for one single purpose only—to make living better for every man, woman and child in these United States.

(Continued from page 529)

business." One state would be infinitely more efficient, for business purposes, than 48. Federalism was all right in George Washington's day, but modern technology has so reduced distances and sectional differences that the 48 arbitrary divisions known as "states" no longer fulfill any constructive function.

This argument betrays not only a fundamental misconception of the federal principle but complete misunderstanding of the nature of our government itself. It is wise, therefore, to review some of the principles basic to our political life. Although these were formulated in the "stagecoach days," that of itself does not invalidate them.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES

The business of business is profits. The business of government is the securing of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to the governed. While the government may build ships, transport goods or manufacture power, it does so in order to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" for the citizens of the United States. It is imperative that these things be done as efficiently as possible, but efficiency is not the criterion of democratic government.

We believe in the dignity of man, in the value of his resourcefulness, initiative, enterprise and imagination. We believe that he can and should assume responsibility for his own affairs. Further, our government rests upon the principle of consent. As the late President Roosevelt said, when he was governor of New York, there are no master minds "so god-like in their ability" that they can plan for the whole country.

DISTRIBUTION OF POWER

The Constitution of the United States represents a unique attempt to reconcile his fundamental philosophy of the individual with a realistic sys-

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tem of government, preserving for the individual his necessary liberties and securing him from the abuse of arbitrary power. The Constitution, therefore, provides for a distribution of power between the states and the national government and between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the national government. The States are guaranteed a republican form of government, territorial integrity and the right of jurisdiction in all matters not given to the national government, reserved to the people or forbidden to the state. They may choose senators, representatives and presidential electors, ratify constitutional amendments, enjoy equal suffrage in the Senate, refuse to be sued by individuals and be protected against domestic violence and invasion. They are forbidden to make:

> any treaty, alliance or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law or law impairing the obligation of contracts or grant any title of nobility.
>
> No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of Congress.
>
> No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

Federalism is thus based on the assumption that the participation of the individual in government is valuable. Abolition of the state governments would greatly reduce the possibility of such participation. Federalism provides a system whereby the will of the people can prevail over as wide an area as possible. While the sectional antagonisms of the eighteenth century have been dissipated to a degree by modern technology, sectionalism *per se* has not disappeared. In the case of the South and the farmers of the Middle West, our modern industrial society has aggravated rather than allayed sectional differences.

Differentiation is difficult if not impossible in a centralized government. The great advantage of the federal system is its flexibility and adaptability. State governments know local conditions best and can deal with local problems more speedily and efficiently. A state government must take account of local customs, prejudices and practices. Massachusetts, for example, has a state F.E.P.C. Mississippi will probably never have one. Efforts to pass national legislation for a national F.E.P.C. were stymied by the Southern states

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In addition to assuring greater participation of the individual in government and to binding divergent sections of the country together, the federal system fulfills a "laboratory function." Experiments can be tried in one state. If they succeed, all 48 states may benefit. If they fail, only one unit is affected. Minimum wage legislation was first enacted by Massachusetts in 1912. California, Colorado, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin adopted similar laws in 1913.

The federal structure thus provides for a division of labor between Congress and the state legislatures. The states bear the expense and the problems of local government. The smaller the unit of government, the more directly effective its action will be.

BUREAUCRACY

Since our government is a government of laws rather than a government of men, it has a natural predisposition towards bureaucracy. Two world wars and the economic crisis of the thirties have greatly intensified this tendency. In 1943, there were over three million people on federal payrolls! In an age when the initiative and ability of the individual are continually stifled by "bigness" in our economic and social lives, it is more necessary than ever to decentralize governmental activity. Only in this way can control of the government remain in the hands of the people. A centralized government would spawn one vast bureaucracy in which the rights of the individual would be suffocated by delay, red tape and arbitrary procedures.

Bureaucracy is too far removed from the people to serve their needs adequately. It necessitates a specialization of interest, training, function, organization and procedure all of which limit the individual. The dignity of man, in which we profess to believe, would thus become a mockery if no scope were allowed the individual. We need only look at present day Washington to see the evils of bureaucracy in action. There was said to be more warfare in Washington than on the battlefields. "Individuals and agencies got in one another's way, blocked one another's plans, sought to discredit one another in a fight for position, and created a nerve wracking chaos frequently described from within the government itself as a madhouse. The difference between this war period and the periods of peace time administration was one only of degree."

There is no real coordination of policy visible in many of the present bureaus. Agricultural policy, for example, is carried out by divisions of the Department of Agriculture, the Treasury, the Bureau of the Budget, the Commerce Department and others.

Bureaucrats have a phenomenal resistance to change. As former Secretary of States Byrnes has said: "The nearest earthly approach to immortality is a bureau of the federal government." Rigidity in government is

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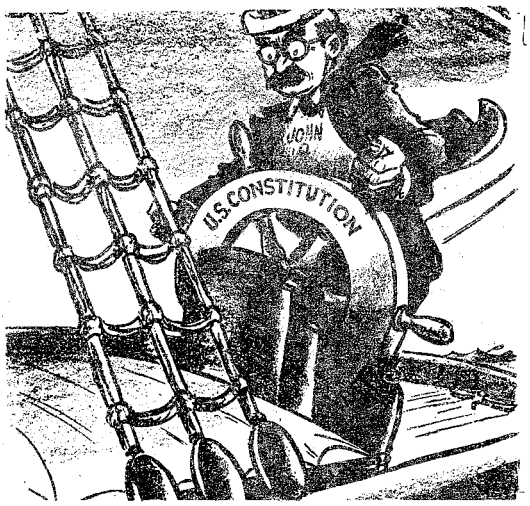
reality very little influence on his bureau. Many of our government agencies combine the exercise of legislative, executive and judicial power, some having functions analagous to those of a grand jury, prosecutor and judge. The activities of the existing bureaus are so numerous that many of them have to be performed by subordinates unknown to the public and without direct responsibility to the people.



—*Tom Gray*

"I AM THE CAPTAIN OF MY SHIP"

JUDICIAL REVIEW

The Supreme Court and Congress have tried unsuccessfully to expand the scope of judicial review over the acts of administrative agencies. The Walter-Logan bill which embodied this attempt was not passed over President Roosevelt's veto. The Senate judiciary committee, in presenting the bill, made the following statement:

> The basic purpose of this administrative-law bill is to stem, and if possible, to reverse the drift into parliamentarism which, if it should succeed in any substantial degree in this country, could but result in totalitarianism with complete destruction of the division of governmental power between the federal and the state governments and with the entire subordination of both the legislative and judicial branches of the federal government to the executive branch wherein are included the administrative agencies and tribunals of that government. This drift has become very pronounced during the past fifty years with the increasing complexity of social and economic problems.

While the tendency toward bureaucracy is, in a sense, inherent and is the result of the increasing complexity of modern society, the cure is greater decentralization.

Granting, for the moment, my opponent's thesis that one state is better than 48, what assurance does he offer that this state will be free of the evils he finds in the present system? Will his council of 140 members be less under the influence of pressure groups and "peanut politicians" than our present state legislatures or Congress? Eight hundred lobbyists have registered in Washington for this session alone. An estimated $1,000,000

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has been spent by these groups in their "activities" thus far this year. While uniformity of civil liberties is desirable, it cannot be legislated into existence in those areas where the folkways of the people are opposed. Will his council of 140 be more successful in enforcing the fourteenth and fifteenth amendment than the federal government up to this point?

My opponent's plan for allowing the president more discretionary powers and an active share in initiating legislation is even more destructive of democratic liberties than the abolition of the federal system. If the restriction on the president's power provided by the separation of powers in the Constitution is modified, how can we prevent a presidential dictatorship? The history of dictatorships shows that even a constitutional provision for dictatorial powers in the time of a national emergency such as was provided in Article 48 of the Weimar Constitution may be used as the stepping stone for dictatorship.

That the area between the activities of the federal government and those of the states is a no-man's land cannot be denied. That the states willingly accepted increased federal control through grants-in-aid, tax credits and rebates on states taxes is common knowledge. The states have in numerous instances neglected their responsibilities for the welfare of their local communities. We contend, however, that the states are capable of reforming themselves within the federal structure.

The American Legislators Association, made up of the legislatures of the 48 states, has been working for the uniformity of state laws by voluntary action since 1926. The National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws includes representatives from the 48 states, Alaska, Hawaii and Puerto Rico. Its first conference was held in August, 1892. The Council of State Governments and the numerous regional conferences of governors all are working to eliminate inter-state barriers and to cooperate in solving each other's social and economic problems.

The relationship between the states and the federal governments should be overhauled in the interests of greater efficiency but federalism should not be abandoned. It is the guardian of our liberty and of our democratic way of life.

A young Navy man on leave was invited to spend the weekend at the home of a girl he had met in a New York canteen. As he had no clean shirts, he merely packed his toothbrush and pajamas in a small, brown paper bag.

When he stepped off the train, he was met by a chauffer and escorted to a beautiful country estate. He deposited the bag in his room and managed to forget his embarrassment for the rest of the day.

That evening when he returned to his room, his pajamas were laid out on his bed and the paper bag was neatly folded on the baggage rack.

When he was ready to return to New York, he found his paper bag neatly packed, tied with a string and lying on the baggage rack in the bedroom!

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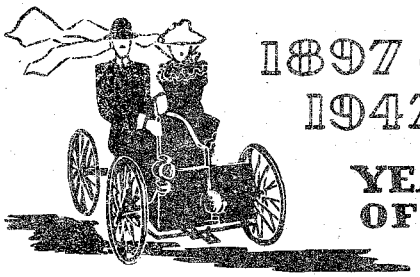

1897 ~ 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

The world seemed a rosy apple in 1897, not the somewhat worm-eaten apple it appears today.

"The English-speaking peoples now supreme on the ocean, possessing by far the largest area of habitable lands in the temperate zones—lands containing the greatest stores of coal, iron, copper, gold, and silver—have advanced more in material wealth during the century now closing than in all the previous centuries in the history of our race. With a proper application of the federal system, as devised by the founders of our government, our race has the means of unlimited expansion without imperilling national unity."

"The higher education of women has attained significant proportions within comparatively recent years only; and not until recently has any attempt been made to educate them in sanitary or domestic science. They were supposed to "know it all by instinct, like a bird." The truth is, that the majority of women have not understood these principles; and many of them have made woeful failures in the care of their homes."

As quoted in FORUM from E. P. Dillon in the *Contemporary Review* for January, 1897: "Russia's actual movements and her conjectured intentions now form the alpha and omega of international politics. . . . Ostensibly they (the Powers of Europe) may league themselves together for the purpose of thwarting certain of Russia's presumed aims; but secretly they outbid each other in offers for her friendship.

"It is a well-known truth that the good health of a people depends largely upon its food; yet the Americans are notorious for their carelessness in this respect. They are confirmed eaters of pork and pastry, use too much grease in cooking, and eat hastily: as a result, they produce more dyspeptics than any other people."

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The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

LATE-SEASON productions, and this means anything between April and June on Broadway, are apt to fall into one of two categories. They are either interesting oddments or they are trash which the producers kept out of New York until the critics and the public were presumably in a springtime mood of laxity and benevolence. Of the trash, we shall say nothing at present; it is more rewarding and pleasant to notice the exotic blooms.

The American Repertory Company has closed its first and lamentably checkered season with an enchanting dramatization of *Alice in Wonderland*. It was charming enough when Miss Eva Le Gallienne presented it nearly a decade ago as the valedictory production of her famous Civic Repertory Theatre. The present, more imaginative and lavish production is even better. Not a little of the credit goes to the performances, especially to Bambi Linn's lovely Alice, Miss Le Gallienne's White Queen, and Margaret Webster's Red Queen; not a little, too, to the score, scenery, costuming and Remo Bufano's animal constructions.

Alice in Wonderland is a theatrical, rather than a dramatic, triumph since the dramatization remains an episodic affair that fails to spiral into drama. Scene follows scene without any augmentation of charm, involvement, excitement or meaning. In fact, the second half, which is the Victorian mathematician's amplification of a chess game, begins to pay reduced dividends and fails to top the experience of the first half; it comes close to comprising a reprise. Indeed, it is only in the first part that we sense drama. Here anxiety is engendered by Alice's efforts to get into the garden, by her meeting with the Ugly Duchess, by the first "Off with his head" flourishes, and the meeting with the potentially threatening animal world. The excellent tidbits in the second half do not compensate for a want of tension, nor do they develop any drama of escape. The play simply does not discharge the tensions it has created; it merely lets them fritter away.

This, however, is an ungracious way to approach a show that is welcome in the theatre precisely because

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t takes us out of the humdrum and awdry world that usually passes or realism on the stage. The criticism is offered only because the learth of effective drama in the past lecade should be our first concern, and we must guard against letting our pleasure in anything theatrical fob us off with half-realizations. If, nevertheless, a perhaps unnecessarily austere critic feels called upon to give *Alice* more than a passing nod for its charm, it is because there is also a dearth of production in theatre art. Except in the field of the musicals, we have actually retrogressed in America since the early 1920's. In those years we were fired with an ambition to transfigure the stage with imagination and beauty. Many works of imagination, and plays to which imaginative production could add an aura of poetry, are now fondled by a heavy hand and a numb mind. The Repertory Company's *Alice* recalls the days when the Provincetown Playhouse, the Neighborhood Playhouse and the Theatre Guild were creating an art theatre in America while Reinhardt, Copeau, Tairov and Vakhtangov were distilling magic and wonder across the Atlantic.

Erwin Piscator's subscription production of *The Flies* at his Dramatic Workshop in the small President Theatre is doubly welcome because it provides stimulation and gratification on both dramatic and production levels. The play is by Jean Paul Sartre, the French "existentialist" playwright whose *No Exit* was cited by the Drama Critics Circle as the best foreign play. *The Flies* is a better play than *No Exit* and has been produced with considerably greater creativeness in spite of the fact that this is a student and faculty production, which should cause no surprise since Erwin Piscator is one of the memorable names of the post-1918 European theatre. There is no bolder creator living in America today, and it is greatly to be regretted that he has had no opportunities to apply his genius to the professional theatre since his residence in this country. If he has gone to extremes in the way of sociological documentation in the past, (and these had their measure of justification in the past), there is no trace of them in the present production except for the use of a lecture-slide technique at the beginning. This "trailer," which tells us that Sartre wrote his play during the occupation and gives film snippets of Hitler's assault on human freedom, can be justified to the degree to which it orients the ordinary public toward the significance of the play, even if it is artistically anomalous.

The play itself, a retelling of the classic Orestes legend, is produced with an economy of means and an absence of antiquarianism that ensure both universality and immediacy. The least admirable feature of the production is its occasional use of the auditorium as a playing area, but considering the small size of the stage at the President, this procedure seems to have been altogether necessary. Moreover, I have never found the auditorium in this country used with greater taste, thanks to the luminous, symbolic

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murals by John McGrew, and to the smooth unostentatious exits and entrances of the cast up and down the aisles. Willis Knighton's settings, consisting of excellently lit ramps and hollow pillars of great beauty, supplemented by John McGrew's expressive projections, had, besides, a curious effect of magic and functionalism. Also, I have never seen a turntable managed more tastefully and effectively than in the third act when Orestes walks through the door of Apollo's temple and, by a turn of the set, we see him emerge on the other side and walk through the mob, taking the Furies with him. If I had anything to say about the matter, I would make attendance at *The Flies* compulsory for every serious student of production within traveling distance.

There is a great deal to be learned from Erwin Piscator when he lets a good play speak for itself and dispenses with the more obvious pedagogic or lecture-methods that he has often favored. There will, also, probably be a great deal to be learned from him when he does employ those methods, in staging plays that call for them. If, for example, "living newspapers" come back into fashion, he should direct them. Good as the Federal Theatre productions of *Power* and *One Third of a Nation* were, they could have been decidedly improved upon by Piscator. He should also have directed a semi-documentary drama like *Yellowjack*. It is my suspicion that the American Repertory Theatre's recent revival of the play would have had a considerably more rewarding quality under his direction. The truth is that the creator of *The Good Soldier Schweik* and *An American Tragedy* has an *elan* and imaginativeness that none of our documentarists possess. When in an earlier stage of his career he laid himself open to the charge of excessive mechanization and harranguing, he was merely responding to a particular milieu with an orientation and zeal drawn from its turbulence. The production of *The Flies* indicates growing flexibility and may mark a new stage in his development. If this is so, the American stage can do no better than to make use of his talent at a time when stage directors who can rise above literalness, humdrum exits-and-entrances, and "traffic cop" direction can be counted on one hand, provided one first amputates a finger or two. The retreat of our theatre from the 1920's is indeed, most marked, and most regrettable, in the dearth of creative direction in the non-musical field.

This brings us to Monsieur Sartre. Whatever negativism, decadence, or philosophical straining opponents may postulate for his art and theory, the fact remains that he is a real dramatist. Kinetic in the treatment of his matter, he has interior as well as exterior movement in his plots, and his transitions from situation to situation have energy. He has a passionate mind; he creates explosive characters and gives them explosive dialogue. He is at home with ideas, is able to keep them in motion instead of merely spewing them forth, and is able to center them in people

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ather than in puppets. He also as imagination, the faculty of ransfiguring reality into durable ymbols. Truly created drama, like eal poetry, should exist on two evels, should rotate on two axes—he specific nub of a situation and ts parallel implications or relevant eneralities. Scholars have called his quality the "concrete univers-l." This may well be the key that nlocks the mystery of greatness in he case of the Greek tragedians nd of such moderns as Ibsen, trindberg and Shaw, at his very est. It is the element of the "con-rete universal" that is responsible or the stature of O'Casey relative o his Irish and English colleagues, lthough the concrete and the uni-ersal have too often conflicted in is creativeness, as may be observed n contrasting *Within the Gates* vith *Juno and the Paycock*. It is he same element that has set)'Neill above his fellow-play-vrights, that sets *The Iceman Cometh* above other American plays f the season, in spite of that over-ong drama's bad case of elephanti-sis.

In *No Exit*, no matter how lawed the American adaptation and he playing, Sartre produced an ntense fusion of the specific and he general; of the real and the ymbolic, of actual dramatic his-ory and psycho-philosophical im-lication. His cramped, almost rabbed, treatment of the themes f human integrity, self-knowledge nd dependence upon other peoples' onception of ourselves ("Hell is ther people") continues to vibrate ong after the curtain is lowered. It vibrates for this reviewer, who was not entranced when he saw the play on the boards. No play can possess real merit unless it lives after the final curtain is lowered, just as no poem is really good if it ceases to exist for the reader after he has finished reading it. Drama, like any other form of creative writing, and probably more so than the more diffuse art of the novel, is, after all, a sort of poetry. In *The Flies* Sartre creates the same effect, somewhat more diffusely but with greater verve and more noticeably bracing results. He has used the familiar story of how Orestes returned to Argos, slew his mother and the paramour who usurped his father's throne, and was pursued by the Furies. Aeschylus created a towering moral structure, a particular universal, on the legend that was already ancient in the fifth century before Christ. Euripides created another and difficult universal out of the primitive rubble of the legend. And now we have a young French playwright making his own unique construction out of this matter.

On the political plane, *The Flies* tells the story of the destruction of a tyranny. The immediate tyranny of Hitler which must have been most meaningful to the French resistance movement is paralleled not only by past and present oppressive regimes but by the timeless tyranny of ideas; tyranny of a religious, political, and ideological nature over the mind and spirit of man. But Sartre has gone beyond this theme, without ever leaving it, as a poor dramatist would do, when he asks

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himself what kind of man can really overthrow these tyrannies and begins to investigate the question of what it is that makes a man "free." The usual, and I believe fallacious, view is that it is the slaves who overthrow a tyranny. Slaves, of course, cannot, because they have been mastered inwardly; they have incorporated the tyrant man or system into their psyche. That only free men can liberate is Sartre's answer. On the question of what actually makes such men "free" there must be considerable debate, and obviously this calls for a separate essay.

Sartre's answer in *The Flies,* as in his entire philosophy, is hardly conclusive. It is a moot point whether it is not itself tainted with the virus of such thinking as the cult of the elite, of the leader principle, and of amoral behavior—though only the ignorant believe that this thinking started with Mussolini and Hitler, or Nietzsche and Pareto. In *The Flies,* indeed, Sartre is not even entirely clear on this matter, at least in dramatic terms. There is, for instance, a touch of the savior complex in the dramatic line of Orestes taking upon himself the city's sickly sense of guilt, (because he can master the sense of guilt, instead of being mastered by it), when he decides to commit a greater "sin" than the city wallows in, and when he makes the Furies follow him out of Argos. The extreme individualism of "existentialism" is indeed misleading when we confront it in a play about the liberation of a people, for then we come up against the ineluctable fact that the French resistance wa a collective effort by many "little people. "Existentialist" man livin unto himself, responsible only t himself, and standing above th ideals or the "morality" of others- if such a man can really exist!- would have been ineffective. H might have proved a great comfo to the Germans, since anarchisti individualism and nihilism are pow erful inducements to passivenes The resistance movement could no have worked with such men.

Nevertheless, what really matte on the dramatic level of Sartre' play is that Orestes is "free" in th sense that he is revolted by th spiritual slavery of Argos, (its sel abasement and wallowing in re morse, so useful to kings and god stink in his nostrils!); that he doe liberate the citizens, that he leave them free to choose and create different life than they have le under Aegisthus, and that he per forms a necessary act of liberatio without emotional hypocrisy. H refuses to accept the bondage o the city's and his own sister's code of righteousness, (he kills, but no for his sister's revengeful reasons!) and penitence. Nor does he suc cumb to their theology as repre sented by a Zeus who holds man i bondage through superstition, fea and self-abasement. If some o this doctrine becomes a little com plicated in the telling, for Sartre as well as for this reporter, th overall effect is not merely provoca tive but refreshing and exalting The truth is that *The Flies* consti tutes the peak of the season's spar adult theatre. It is depressing only

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to realize that for several reasons, among which not the least are managerial timorousness and the high cost of production, *The Flies* was not produced on Broadway but had to be given as one of the plays in the Dramatic Workshop's repertory. Nevertheless, even the student acting in that production was virtually professional. That is particularly true of the performances of Dan Mathews as Orestes, Carol Gustafson as Electra, and Jack Burkhardt as Zeus.

The debate concerning "existentialism" can go on endlessly. Like all philosophies, it may have caught a glimpse of a partial truth, but it is fundamentally an effort to blaze a trail in an impassible forest by a lost but only half-daunted traveler, an effort to follow a distant light for a little while, even if there is no assurance that it will lead him out of the woods. Like all philosophies, it may not be truly disproved but merely effectively outmoded—only perhaps to be revived in a new verbal dress when troubled men think they need its solace again. . . .

Two young moderns were discussing the devil on their way out of Sunday School. "Do you believe there is a devil?" one asked.

"Of course not," replied the other. "It's just like Santa Claus. He's your father."

—*Journal of Education*

* * *

The Republicans have a new "watchdog of the Treasury" in Senator Aiken of Vermont. A Navy requisition for silver-plated finger bowls and "unnecessarily elaborate tableware" stirred his Yankee curiosity. He found that the Navy had ordered 38,744 silver-plated finger bowls, and 38,744 silver-plated plates to go under the bowls, at a total cost of $97,252.50. Each admiral, vice admiral, rear admiral and captain has his own distinguishing mark on his tableware. Ward room silverware has a separate mark as does that for warrant officers.

Feeling that few taxpayers had finger bowls, let alone silver-plated ones with silver-plated plates to go underneath, Mr. Aiken wrote to Mr. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Forrestal replied that during the war the Navy put up with an inferior grade of tableware in order to conserve critical materials. This had corroded to such an extent that its further use was dangerous. The bids which had been tendered for the new silverware were so high, however, that none had been purchased. Mr. Forrestal has directed the Bureau of Ships to modify its allowance list and purchase more modest tableware. Although the ships' allowance lists have been in existence for 20 years, Mr. Forrestal feels that it is time the "niceties" were deleted.

To which this inimitable New Englander remarked to the Senate, "a million here, a million there, it all adds up."

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COUNTRY COMMENT

THERE is a man in my town with long hair and a long beard. His hair is so long that it hangs about his shoulders, and as he strides down the street on a windy day it is as if his head were in a billowing cloud.

The first time I saw him I had a sudden vision of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and of the Twelve Apostles. Though I have seen him many times since, I never escape being slightly, if ever so slightly, startled. In a town of seven thousand a man with long hair is more conspicuous than he would be on a city street slipping through the crowds.

I have no particular conviction either for or against long hair in a man. But one thing I do have a conviction about and that is personal freedom. I am concerned with whether a man who wants to wear his hair long in a certain American town is free to do so. American towns may know a lot about freedom from George III and from Hitler, but there are other freedoms they are not always up on.

More interesting than the man himself, therefore, is the reaction of his fellow townsmen. It is they who give or withhold the freedom. I rejoice to say that my small town is big enough to give him the freedom of his hair.

If you ask me why he chooses to wear his hair long, I am not sure that I know. I am told that the hair is in some way a badge of independence and freedom. Other men have expressed their love of freedom in other ways. To Washington freedom meant cutting the apron strings of England. To Lincoln it meant freeing the slaves. To Beethoven it meant bursting asunder the conventions of eighteenth century music. To Einstein it means soaring beyond the confines of Euclidean geometry. Dancers and athletes defy, or seem to defy, the law of gravitation. Explorers enlarge their liberties among the snows of the Himalayas and of the South Pole.

Here is a curious fact: the freedom imposes a restriction. The long hair, having set a certain tone and character, must be lived up to. There are some things we do that we would not think of doing while wearing ecclesiastical robes. This man wears ecclesiastical robes all the time, so to speak. Can you picture him, could he picture himself, smoking a cigarette?

Being a timid soul, I go about as inconspicuously as possible. That may be one reason I glory in a man willing to be (harmlessly and quietly) conspicuous. I am happy that among all our celebrated freedoms there is still room for the freedom to be a little queer.

—*ROBERT FRANCIS,*
Amherst, Mass.

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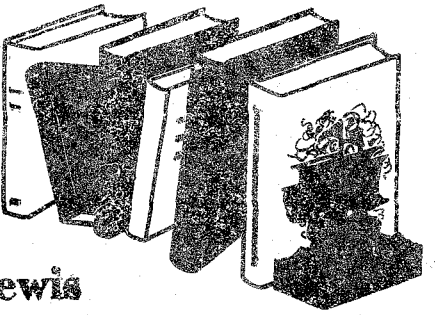
BOOKS In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

SOME VIEWS ON RUSSIA

GLIMPSES of the inside of Russia after the war are offered in *Through Russia's Back Door,* by Richard E. Lauterbach, (Harper's, $2.75). In relating his experiences while traveling through Russia from Vladivostock to the West, Lauterbach reports minor incidents and conversations, but economic and political aspects show themselves in almost every page. His intent is to depict how the people live and what they think and talk about. The reader is given a seemingly unbiased view of everyday conditions. Some of it we have already been told: the dogged belief in everything official and in dogma. There are some surprises; to purchase a radio, for instance, one needs only the price. It sounds democratic, too, to learn that Soviet war veterans get bonuses on discharge and have the right to their old jobs and former living quarters.

What is most important at the moment is Lauterbach's appraisal of relations between the United States and Russia. There is undoubtedly as much distrust of us among the Russians as there is here of them, and, of course, the utterances of our worst political figures supply the causes. Russian top men, however, he believes do not want war with us, nor would the masses support them if they leaned that way. In his opinion, Russia is far from being back on its feet economically and militarily. Omitting bluster, even with growth of its heavy industry, in 15 years Russia will still be behind our present position.

Lauterbach apparently feels that we should have placed the atomic bomb problem in the United Nations Security Council. But on our own shortcomings diplomatically there is less room for argument. Everything we have done can be construed as helping to divide the world, rather than to unify it. Here the need for mutual understanding is emphasized. Regardless of individual opinion, the information in the book should be useful in understanding Russia's side.

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Vera Micheles Dean's contribution to the study is *Russia, Menace or Promise,* (Holt, $2.00). Mrs. Dean was born in Russia and educated here, and she has the advantage of knowing the Russian background and language. She is Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association. In this volume she tries to answer some of the questions most often asked about Russia and its people. It must be confessed that some of her comments, while fair, are still unconvincing, such as her remarks on the subject of personal freedom. It is, of course, a matter of comparative points of view. For example, Russians have the right to own property privately. Soviet citizens may own houses, books and automobiles. The dividing line is clear: they may not own a business or hire help to work for them. That is tabu. Personal possessions, however, can be inherited by one's children.

Whether there is a difference between imperialism and the Russian policy of bordering "friendly" states is a question, and Mrs. Dean does not appear certain that there is, giving Russia the benefit of the doubt for the moment. She is not too clear on the subject of Russia's objectives in Asia. Before the war there was the danger of Japanese encroachment; that no longer exists. Now the reader must decide whether it is the undeveloped natural resources or the teeming population as fruitful soil for Communism that is the attraction.

Relations between the Soviet and the United States depend, of course, on mutual understanding. Mrs. Dean believes Russia is sincere in its promises of co-operation. She states that the United States delegation at San Francisco was just as determined as Russia to give veto power to the Big Five, although this has since been a cause of criticism of Russia. The crux of the question is well put by Mrs. Dean; the struggle between the Soviet and the United States is not for material things, it is for influence over men's minds. While it could degenerate into a terrible war, it could also become "an honorable competition for opportunities to advance human welfare, each by its own methods and on its own plane of historic development."

It is not expected that Ilya Ehrenburg will be objective in his evaluation of economies or politics. *European Crossroad,* (Knopf, $2.00); is full of his superlatives in describing Communistic actions or theories, and as free with fulminations against "democratic regimes" or non-Communists. Here is his story of a journey through the Balkan countries, and he reports the visual evidence of war and misery. There can be little doubt that the desolation is no less than he describes it, nor that in some spots he found fascist influences still alive.

It is unfortunate that he misses no opportunity to extol only those whose political leanings are to the left. Anyone who is opposed to the communistic party in each little country is definitely reactionary. Whether in Rumania, Bulgaria or Czechoslovakia the sure fire conclusion is against the conservative,

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Now, there may be justice in some of his observations, and there is surely no defense of the German invaders, but the general effect is a one-sided discussion. Particularly in his description of Yugoslavia is his partisanship manifest. Tito is the unqualified hero. "The men who want to set the clock back are dreaming of the monarchical Yugoslavia of yore." There was no threat of violence or terror in the recent elections, and British papers that manifest sympathy for Mikhailovitch are simply hypocritical.

Russian influence and power are hardly mentioned, but only those groups and individuals who are playing the same strings get honorable mention. It is one way of observing the workings of the mind of an ardent Communist. Ehrenburg is an extremist, and his views are not conducive to any hope of a meeting of East and West. Of course, we have our jingoists, too.

More rational and decidedly more eloquent is *Russia in Perspective,* by George Soloveytchik, (Norton, $3.00). The author, Russian by birth, emigrated to England to escape the Bolshevik revolution. His goal seems to be the better comprehension of Russian people and customs, and if he sees the whole picture sympathetically, it should be a credit in view of his own experiences. He devotes chapters to the old Russia—the dynasties of Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, Catherine, and the last Nicholas—to show that there were certain definite trends in the development of the country through absolute monarchies toward a form of freedom. These prove a Russian way of life different from the western in accomplishment and ambition.

The Lenin and Stalin eras are more or less phases in the development. Even Communism is not an end in itself. Soloveytchik believes that the same old eternal Russia, call it a Leviathan, is twisting to find itself. He points out why Russians are entitled to mistrust the western democracies, which distrust her. Of the immediate future he is somewhat optimistic, if common sense prevails. It is not a question of wanting war or being prepared for it. Russia is in a state of flux. Some of the new ideas have disappeared in favor of modifications of ancient ones. Postwar problems plague Stalin as much as they do Truman.

What is needed, here as elsewhere, is understanding of the other fellow's position and ideas. Soloveytchik has written a commendable, restrained introduction to Russian life, calculated to be of valuable assistance in the task.

BRIEFER COMMENT

As a British member of the "Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry Regarding the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine," Richard Crossman started from scratch to investigate conditions. *Palestine Mission,* (Harper's, $2.75), is the record of his findings not only in Palestine, but in Washington and London as well. Oil, not religion, seems to turn the political machinery. His comments and

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conclusions will find both supporters and opposition, but his story has a ring of sincerity and his handling of the problem is intelligent and frank, regardless of personal opinion.

Some of the stories that the war correspondents could not write in wartime, for one reason or another, now appear in *Deadline Delayed,* by Members of the Overseas Press Club of America, (Dutton, $3.50). Some of them, like the Patton story, are but variations of early reports, but others illuminate conditions in European affairs to the advantage of understanding for what different factions in politics and religions are struggling.

Some sane thoughts on bigotry are offered in *Why Men Hate,* by Samuel Tenenbaum, (Beechhurst Press, $3.50). For instance, he states: "No one, thank God, is born a bigot." If that is true, there should be a solution of this, the world's Number One problem. A sad commentary is reflected in a quotation from Professor Allport of Harvard, to the effect that to study the subject in its most virulent form one should join the Harvard faculty.

Life in China before and during the war, seen through alert Chinese eyes, is well pictured in *Autobiography of a Chinese Woman,* by Buwei Yang Chao, (John Day, Asia Press, $3.75). Madame Chao was educated in Japan, China and America, and tells of her modest but refreshingly interesting part in revolution, social work and the war. The translation is by her husband, Yuenren Chao.

Louis Francis Budenz tells his story of communism in *This Is My Story,* (Whittlesey House, $3.00). Once a prominent Communist, he writes of his disillusionment, his reasons therefor and his return to Catholicism in a restrained but frank manner. It is a book that should be read, not in the light of revelation but as serious arraignment of communist policies and purposes.

Resisting the temptation to do the obvious, the late Octave Aubry wrote *The Private Life of Napoleon,* (Lippincott, $5.00), to show the romantic side of the Little Corporal's life. There were women aplenty, and Aubry doesn't pretend virtue abounded. However, by restrained comment he shows the part these affairs played in Napoleon's life, and there is history in the pages to make it more convincing than sensational.

John Gassner, our friend next door, edits the second series of *Best Plays of the Modern American Theatre,* (Crown, $3.50), giving the complete text of 17 outstanding plays of the years 1939-1946. Some of your favorites are among them: *Life with Father, The Voice of the Turtle, The Man Who Came to Dinner.* With a comprehensive criticism and survey of the period, Gassner provides the reader with dramatic entertainment of a high order.

The history and development of the Naval Air Transport Services gets its due in *Operation Lifeline,* by James Lee, with photographs by Joe Rosenthal, (Ziff-Davis, $5.00). It makes a permanent record in

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text and illustration of the fine work done by the N.A.T.S. It was Rosenthal who took the now famous picture of "The Spirit of '45" at Iwo Jima.

The Pageant of Middle American History by Anne Merriman Peck, (Longman's, $4.00), is a friendly portrayal of the culture and social history of the Central American republics, with a good bit of political perspective included. The title is rather misleading: it is the history of middle (or central) America.

Essays bearing on various topics from religion to university democracies are included in *History Is on Our Side,* by Joseph Needham, (Macmillan, $2.75). The pieces were originally printed in English periodicals, and are on a high literary as well as philosophical plane.

The Story of Wake Island, by Col. James P. S. Devereux, (Lippincott, $2.75), is Devereux' own recollections of the siege and fall of Wake which was his command. He doesn't make heroes of his men, but he shows their courage and guts in the face of disaster. The author corrects some misconceptions that may have been given the public by the movie.

How the F.B.I. does it, *The Story of the F.B.I.,* by the editors of *Look,* (Dutton, $3.75), is the "official picture history" of the Bureau. Part of it shows the training of the sleuths, and part illustrates some of the more spectacular recent cases.

Selections from the column written by Thomas F. Woodlock in the *Wall Street Journal* are published posthumously as *Thinking It Over,* (McMullen Co., $3.00).

FICTION

Banner by the Wayside, by Samuel Hopkins Adams, (Random House, $3.00), is a delightful romantic story of America in the 1830's, among the settlers along the Erie Canal. Troupers, small town stuff and old-fashioned sentiment, combine to make a typical Adams' tale.

The Two Worlds of Johnny Truro, by George Sklar, (Little, Brown, $2.75), is more than a good story. It is a delicate understanding of a youth's emotions and growth into maturity. It is about love for an older woman, certainly not a new theme, but developed and handled in realistic and sympathetic fashion.

The horrors of the German occupation in France, translated into the lives of two men and a woman, are detailed in *Write Sorrow on the Earth,* by Charles Christian Wertenbaker, (Holt, $2.75). One doesn't enjoy such a story; it is tragic, but it undoubtedly is faithful to the scene it represents. It is tense writing.

For once a prize winning selection seems justified. *Black Fountains,* by Oswald Wynd, (Doubleday, $2.75), is an excellent story of a Japanese girl, educated in America, who returns home to the Japan of 1938. The war years to 1945 are strange ones for her, used to Western ideas. The tale is good, the plot rational, and the people regular humans—except when they behave as Japanese fanatics.

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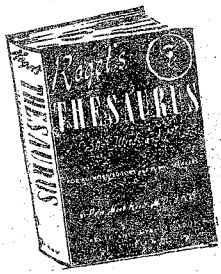

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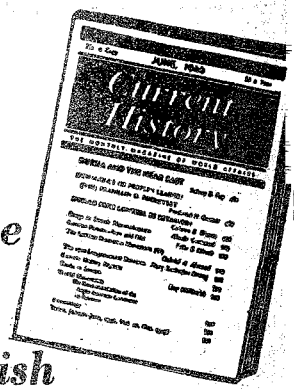

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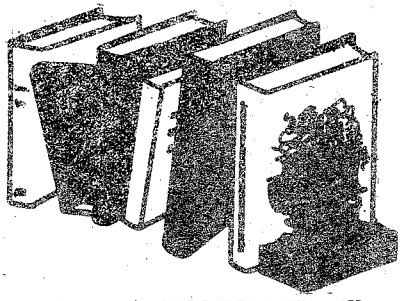

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FORUM FEATURES

Franklin Huddle's experience includes newspaper and public relations work; teaching English at Brown University where he received a degree; research associate for **Editorial Research Reports** and staff editor of the **Kiplinger Magazine.** He is author of "The Expansion of the Union," an article of particular interest to students of United States History, on page 506 of the June FORUM.

Max Knepper, author of "Should We Outlaw the Communist Party?" writes a few words to the editor on his qualifications to discuss the Communist party. "I joined the EPIC movement in 1934, Upton Sinclair's crusade to end poverty in California, when he captured the Democratic party with his production-for-use program. I joined the staff of the Sinclair paper, which, during the heat of the campaign and for several years afterward, was a vigorous, well-supported organ for progressive, Democratic action.

"During the early part of the campaign I well remember the Communist attacks on Sinclair, which were more bitter than those from the reaction. In those days liberals were labelled 'social Fascists' by Communists. In 1936, however, the Communists were so frightened by Hitler they changed their party line in favor of the united front, that is, collaboration which formerly had been the arch sin. Like most progressives, I experienced some of the unpleasant tactics of these people when they forced their collaboration on those who didn't want them. . . . I could never see that the way to eliminate Communist interference was to suppress democratic procedure. In most cases where Communists took over non-communist organizations, it was because the non-communist majority were too lazy or indifferent to exercise their voting rights."

Alzada Comstock, Professor of Economics at Mount Holyoke College, continues with the second in her series of articles. The June FORUM presents "Britain: Loser in Two Wars."

"Should We Do Away With State Government?" In this month's Forum, **Sol Katz**, native New Yorker and former travelling salesman, says, "Yes." **P. T. O'Connell** says, "No." What do you think?

We should like to call your attention to more very interesting reading this month, **Robert Francis'** "Clarification of God," on page 487; **Carol Thompson's** "Beware The Ghost of Weimar," on page 491, and our special feature from congressional debate, "How Long Should a President Serve?"

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